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INTRODUCTION
TO THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BY
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TRANSLATED FROM
THE FOURTH EDITION OF THE GERMAN,
AND
CONSIDERABLY AUGMENTED WITH NOTES,

AND A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
ORIGIN and COMPOSITION
OF THE
THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

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VOL. III. PART II.
CONTAINING THE TRANSLATOR'S NOTES TO THE
THIRD VOLUME.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON,
PRINTED FOR F. AND C. RIVINGTON,
Nº 62, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD.

1802.

CONTENTS

TO

VOL. III. PART II.

NOTES TO CHAP. I.	—	—	PAGE 3
————— CHAP. II.	—	—	7
————— CHAP. III.	—	—	78
————— CHAP. IV.	—	—	83
————— CHAP. V.	—	—	142
————— CHAP. VI.	—	—	150

DISSERTATION on the Origin and Composition of the Three first Gospels.	—	161
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TRANSLATOR'S

NOTES

TO

VOL. III.



N O T E S

TO

VOL. III.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE NAME, AND NUMBER OF THE
CANONICAL GOSPELS.

PAGE I.

I. **F**EW Greek manuscripts contain the whole of the New Testament: for to one, which contains the whole, among those which are now extant, there are at least thirty, which contain only parts of it, namely, either the four Gospels alone, or the four Gospels with the Acts of the Apostles, or the Acts of the Apostles alone, or St. Paul's Epistles alone, or the Catholic Epistles alone, or the Catholic Epistles with the Acts of the Apostles, &c. But those, which do contain the whole of the New Testament, as the Codex Alexandrinus, the Codex Vaticanus, and the Codex Ephrem (the only three of the MSS. written in uncial letters, and these three contain likewise the Septuagint) have the four Gospels at the beginning, and therefore our author is so far right in saying that the four Gospels, according to the arrangement in the manuscripts, make the first book of the New Testament. However as the four Gospels are in those manuscripts as much distinguished from each other, as they are from the Acts and the Epistles, we may rather consider them as one book in consequence of the circumstance, that so many

Greek manuscripts contain the four Gospels alone. With respect to the arrangement of the Gospels in reference to each other, the Greek manuscripts in general have them in the order, in which they are placed in our canon, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. But the Latin church arranged them thus, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark: and this arrangement is observed, not only in the old Latin manuscripts, but likewise in the Codex Bezae.

2. This expression *κατα το ευαγγελιον μου* in Rom. ii. 16. was understood by several of the ancient Fathers as having reference to St. Luke's Gospel, which they imagined was dictated by St. Paul, and was therefore called by the Apostle 'my Gospel.' Thus Origen, as quoted by Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 25.) calls St. Luke's Gospel *το υπο Παυλου επαινουμενον ευαγγελιον*. But Eusebius, though he relates the opinion of others, does not vouch for the truth of it: for he says only (Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 4.) *φασι δε, ως αρα τα κατ' αυτου ευαγγελια μνημονευειν ο Παυλος ηωθεν, οπηνικα ως περι ιδιου τικος ευαγγελια γραφων ελεγε κατα το ευαγγελιον μου*. Jerom likewise in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, under the article 'Luke' (Tom. IV. P. ii. p. 103. ed. Benedict.) says only "*Quidam suspicantur, quotiescunque in epistolis suis dicit Paulus, 'juxta Evangelium meum,' de Lucæ significare volumine.*" And that it was a mere conjecture, and that too a very ungrounded one, is certain: for in Rom. xiv. 25. where St. Paul has again used the expression *κατα το ευαγγελιον μου*, he has himself explained it by adding *και το κηρυγμα Ιησου Χριστου*. Nor has St. Paul any where used the word *ευαγγελιον* in the sense of 'a written narrative of Christ's life,' a sense, which it probably did not acquire before the second century. Besides, there are the strongest reasons for believing, that St. Luke's Gospel was not written till some years after the Epistle to the Romans, as will be shown hereafter.

PAGE 2.

3. Our author in his German translation of the New Testament interprets Mark i. 1—4. in the following manner. ‘The beginning of the glad tidings of Jesus Christ the Son of God, was made by John, who baptized in the wilderness, and preached the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins; as it is written, &c.’ And the interpretation is just: for if *αρχη τῆς ευαγγελίας* had been used by St. Mark, to signify, that he there began his narrative of Christ’s life, and to denote nothing more than, Incipit Evangelium Jesu Christi, in the same manner as we find in the Latin manuscripts at the head of each Gospel, Incipit Evangelium secundum Matthæum, Incipit Evangelium secundum Marcum, &c. St. Mark’s Gospel would in fact begin with *ὡς γεγραπται*, which would be a very unsuitable commencement of any narrative.

4. On the superscriptions, *Ευαγγελιον κατὰ Ματθαιον*, *Ευαγγελιον κατὰ Μαρκον*, &c. which were not prefixed by the Evangelists themselves, see Simon Hist. Crit. du N. T. ch. ii.

5. In the Greek Testament, as *ευαγγέλιον* signifies ‘the glad tidings of the advent of the Messiah,’ so *ευαγγελιστης* denotes ‘a person who delivers those glad tidings,’ or ‘a propagator of the Christian religion.’ On this, as well as every other point of sacred Greek philology, the reader will do well do consult Schleusneri Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum, Lipsiæ, 1792, 2 Tom. 8vo. This work contains a treasure of knowledge, with which no student in theology can dispense: it unites the most valuable observations, which Lightfoot, Schoettgen, and Meuschen have made from the works of Hebrew and Rabbinical writers, those which Carpzov and Krebs have made from Philo and Josephus, those which Raphel, Bos, Alberti, Elfner, Kypke, Palaiet, and Münthe have made from the Greek classics, together with an immense number, which the author’s own profound erudition supplied. The different senses of the words are investigated with the utmost philo-
logical

logical precision: they are illustrated by the principal passages of the Greek Testament; and the whole is arranged in the most perspicuous manner. I mention particularly this work at present, as no notice either was or could be taken of it in the notes to the first volume of this Introduction.

5. This analogy was observed by Irenæus (adv. Hæres. Lib. III. cap. 11. sect. 8.) Many other equally fanciful analogies were observed by the Fathers, as that of the four cardinal virtues, the four elements, &c. which the reader will find in Suiceri Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus, Tom. I. p. 1222, 1223. But the most celebrated analogy is that of the four animals described in Ezekiel i. 5—10. which was observed by Jerom (Tom. IV. p. 3. ed. Benedict.), and gave rise to the well known paintings of the four Evangelists.

6. Among the numerous Greek Gospels, which circulated in the second century, four only have descended entire to the present age, because four only were admitted into the Greek canon: and those four only were admitted into the Greek canon, because they were the only four Greek Gospels, which were universally acknowledged to have been written by the persons whose names they bore; *α μονα αναγερητα εστιν εν τη υπο τον βρανον εκκλησια τα Θεα*, as Origen says in a passage quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 25. For the Gospels ascribed to Peter, Thomas, Matthias, and others, of which Eusebius says (Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 25.), *εδεν εδαμως εν συγγραμμασι των καλα διαδοχας εκκλησιαστικων τις ανηρ εις μνημην αγαγειν ηξιωσε*, were without doubt falsely ascribed to them. To ask further, why the number of authentic Greek Gospels was precisely four, and not either three or five, is as absurd, as it would be to ask, why Cicero wrote precisely nine Epistles to Lentulus, and not either eight or ten.

Beside the Gospels, which bore the names of their real or pretended authors, there were others, which bore the names of the persons who used them, as the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Gospel according

cording to the Egyptians. But, as the former was written in Hebrew, it could not be admitted into the Greek canon: and that the latter was not, will be thought extraordinary by no one, who has seen the fragments, which are now extant of it.

PAGE 3.

7. The fragments of the apocryphal Gospels have been collected by Grabe in his *Spicilegium Patrum ut et Hæreticorum sæculi post Christum natum I. II. et III. Oxoniæ, 1718, 1719, 2 Tom. 8vo.*: by Fabricius, in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, Hamburgi, 1719, 1743, ed. 2^{da}. 2 Tom. 8vo.*: and still more completely by Jones, in his new and full method of settling the canonical authority of the New Testament, London, 1726, 1727, 3 Vol. 8vo.

CHAP. II.

OF THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

SECT. I.

PAGE 5.

1. Between 1773 and 1781, Lessing published at Brunswick a periodical work, entitled *Beyträge zur Geschichte und Literatur, aus den Schätzen der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, that is Contributions to history and literature, from the treasures of the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel. In this work, especially in the fourth volume, were inserted the celebrated fragments, of which our author here speaks.

2. The German title of this answer of Michaelis is, *Erklärung der Begräbnis und Auferstehungs Geschichte Christi nach den vier Evangelisten*. Of English works on this subject, beside the well known writings of Sherlock, West, and Ditton, may be recommended an Essay on the resurrection of Christ inserted in ch. xii. of Benson's *Life of Christ*, London, 1764, 4to. and the following short but excellent treatise, *A Review of the chief difficulties in the Gospel History relating to our Lord's resurrection*, by W. Newcome, D.D. bishop of Waterford (afterwards archbishop of Armagh), Dublin, 1791, 4to.

PAGE 9.

3. When we have certain knowledge of the existence of a fact, as that of an engagement between two armies, no contradictions in the accounts of that fact can disprove the existence of the fact itself. But when the question is in agitation, whether an alleged fact be true, or not, our *conviction* of the truth of it will certainly be affected by the concurrence or contradiction of the testimonies in its favour. And if the contradictions are such as to be wholly incapable of a reconciliation, the proof of the fact will certainly not be so satisfactory, as it would, if the witnesses agreed. But since not every deviation is a contradiction, and the same fact, as viewed by different persons in different lights, not only may, but must be reported by them in different ways, we must examine, whether the deviations are such, as may be explained on this principle. If they are, and the witnesses are in other respects credible, we can have no reason for refusing our assent. Further, we must distinguish variations in respect to concomitant circumstances from variations in respect to the main fact: for the former are of much less importance than the latter.

SECT. II.

PAGE 10.

1. That the facts, which are related in common by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, are not arranged by *all three* Evangelists in chronological order, is certain: for the order of those facts is not the same in all three Gospels. But we must not therefore conclude that *not one of them* wrote in chronological order: for one of them may have observed chronological order, while the other two did not, or two of them may have observed chronological order, while the third did not. Now St. Mark and St. Luke have generally placed the facts, which they have in common, in the same order, (the reason of which will be explained hereafter): but St. Matthew, in the former half of his Gospel, has placed a great number of the facts, which he has in common with St. Mark and St. Luke, in a very different order. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that all such facts happened in the order, in which St. Matthew has placed them, and not in the order in which they are placed by St. Mark and St. Luke: for St. Matthew, as being an Apostle and eye-witness to the facts, which he has recorded, must in general have known the time, in which each of them happened, but which St. Mark and St. Luke, who were not eye-witnesses, could not always know. Not to mention Bengel, Bertling, and other harmonists, who make the facts, which are common to these three Evangelists, subordinate to St. Matthew's arrangement, I will quote only the opinion of Eichhorn, who says in his Universal Library of Biblical Literature, Vol. V. p. 783. that 'the facts recorded in the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel, were re-arranged by St. Matthew, according to the exact order of time, as it would be easy to shew by an analysis of the several sections of which that part is composed.' Sir Isaac Newton was
of

of the same opinion: for he says in his *Observations on Daniel*, p. 152. of the edition printed in London in 1732, 4to. 'that St. Matthew was an eye-witness of what he relates, and so tells all things in due order of time, which St. Mark and St. Luke do not.' And bishop Pearce has adopted the same opinion. See Vol. I. p. 207. of his '*Commentary, with Notes on the four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles*,' London, 1777, 2 Vols. 4to. However, as there is hardly any rule without an exception, I would not assert that St. Matthew has in no instance whatsoever deviated from chronological order.

PAGE II.

2. The fact, that all our Evangelists have not always written in chronological order, is very properly asserted by our author, in opposition to several harmonists, who, in order to make good their position, have been frequently reduced to the necessity of representing the same event, as having happened more than once, merely in consequence of its having different positions in different Gospels. But our author certainly goes too far, when, with the view of apologizing for a violation of chronological order, he describes this violation as an excellence in an historian. He says, that an annalist, who barely records a string of events, in the order in which they happened, is the most unpleasant kind of historian. This is true, but the annalist fails to give delight, not because his facts are arranged in chronological order, but because he simply reports, without reasoning on what he relates, and delivers his information in a style not suited to captivate the imagination. Chronological order is so far from being the reason, why annalists are less agreeable than other historians, that this very order is the principal qualification, which makes the annalist of any value: for if this order be destroyed, a regular series of historical events will be converted into a rude mass of unconnected anecdotes. Our author further observes, that an historian, who
would

would both instruct and delight, must compare events with their consequences, and endeavour to combine effects with their causes. But cause and effect follow in the succession of time, and therefore if we arrange a set of facts in a contrary order, the relation between cause and effect will not be preserved, but destroyed. It will be objected perhaps, that an effect may take place long after its cause, that in the mean time many other events, which it is necessary to record, may have happened, and therefore, unless the account of these intermediate events be postponed, the cause and the effect in question will be so far separated from each other, that the reader will not perceive the connexion. But if a cause produces an effect at a distant period, that cause may in the mean time continue to operate, and of course the events, which take place in the series between the first cause and the last effect may in some measure be influenced by the one, and have influence on the other. Thus, if Julius Cæsar had not crossed the Rubicon with his army, it is probable that he would not have been assassinated in the capitol: and therefore the former event may be considered as the original cause of the latter. Yet no good historian would relate the conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius immediately after Cæsar's passage over the Rubicon, and then proceed to relate what happened in Macedonia and Egypt: for all these intermediate events were likewise effects of that cause, and were likewise causes which produced each its subsequent effect in one continued series, till the grand final effect, the conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius, was produced. Though we admit therefore the propriety of joining effects with their causes, yet this must be understood only of immediate effects, since a mediate effect must be separated from the cause by the interposition of all those intermediate events, which as well as the first cause operated in its production. But a series of facts so disposed, that each cause shall be followed by its immediate consequence, will hardly admit of any other arrangement,

ment, than the order of time. On the other hand, if a cause, which produces an effect at a distant period, be supposed to have lain in the mean time totally dormant, and to have produced no effect whatsoever, till the effect in question was produced, still it would be inconsistent with the strict rules of historical composition to relate that effect before a number of other events, which preceded it. For in every history the arrangement of the facts in the narrative itself is the criterion, by which the reader judges of their real succession, and therefore whenever the order of time is neglected, he will be exposed to the danger of deducing a false inference. It is true that the danger, to which the reader is exposed will be obviated, if the historian, whenever he departs from the order of time, has the precaution to note the dates of the events: but then if the reader knows, that the events did not happen in the order, in which he reads them, he is reduced to the necessity of going backwards and forwards in his own mind, and is deprived of the pleasure, which results from the contemplation of a regular succession. The entertainment of the reader therefore as well as the perspicuity of the narrative, will be promoted by an arrangement of the facts according to the order, in which they happened.

Lastly, our author observes, that it is not unusual, especially in biography, to disregard the order of time, and Dr. Priestley, in his *Observations on the Harmony of the Evangelists*, sect. xi. p. 71. says the same. Now, if a person, whose life a biographer has to record, was distinguished in various ways; if, for instance, he was a great statesman, and at the same time an eminent scholar, it would be allowable to separate his literary from his political career, though the one was interwoven with the other, and to divide his history into two classes or sections, that the reader's attention might be wholly confined in the one to state affairs, in the other to subjects of literature. So far then the order of time would be violated, as the events related at the beginning

of the second division are antecedent to the events, which are related at the end of the first division. But on the other hand, not to mention that the reader sustains no inconvenience in this case, because he knows that the second division is not a continuation of the first, a biography formed on this plan contains two distinct histories, in which the order of time is not observed throughout for that very reason that they are distinct. The reader knows it, and readily gives up the advantage of having the whole according to the order of time, because he is recompensed by the advantage of having the political and literary facts in their respective classes, by which means the relation between cause and effect may be often, though not always, more distinctly observed, than if every single fact, both literary and political, were arranged throughout in the order in which it happened. Other examples might likewise be given, in which a separation of different kinds of facts into classes or chapters would be perfectly allowable. But shall we conclude therefore that the order of time may be neglected in the respective classes? Certainly not. For the very same motive, namely the principle of cause and effect, which makes it allowable to separate facts of different kinds, and therefore to violate the order of time upon the whole, renders it absolutely necessary to follow the order of time in the respective parts. And even if cause and effect be set aside, no good historian, for the reason already assigned, will designedly arrange a single series of facts in an order different from that, in which they succeeded each other. With respect to what our author calls Singularia, it may be granted, if a writer has no other object in view, than to present the world with a collection of unconnected anecdotes, (such as that which has been published in several volumes of Frederic II. king of Prussia) that he is at liberty to arrange them without any regard to the time, in which they happened. But an author, or rather a publisher of this kind, can lay no claim to the character of an historian; the development,

ment of causes and effects makes no part of his plan, which is merely to give the reader a momentary pleasure by the perusal of each separate article. The reader expects no order, and therefore cannot be led into error, it being a matter of indifference whether he begins with the first or with the last volume. But whoever assumes the character of a biographer, and undertakes to give a connected detail of transactions, is bound to follow his hero regularly in his progress through life: and if he divides the several kinds of facts, which he has to record, into separate classes, it is his duty in each class to have regard to chronological order.

To apply the preceding observations to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. If we compare these three Gospels *, we shall find that the matter, which is common to all three, contains a series of events, which begins with the baptism of Christ and ends with his death and resurrection †. This series of events relates to one and the same person: it is also a single series, that is, the history is not divided as a biographer might divide the literary and political life of a statesman, and commence the one after he had finished the other: for all the events from the baptism to the death of Christ are delivered by St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke in one continued narrative ‡.

Further,

* The Gospel of St. John is out of the question, because it has so little matter in common with the other three.

† This series of events will be represented hereafter.

‡ Some commentators, in order to reconcile St. Luke's arrangement with that of St. Matthew, divide St. Luke's Gospel into different classes, containing, 1st the history of Christ's birth, 2dly the history of his youth, 3dly the account of his baptism, 4thly of his actions in Galilee, and 5thly of his last journey to Jerusalem. But these classes follow each other in chronological order; they are nothing more than partitions of one uniform narrative, such as may be made in every history: and are totally different from the classes, into which a biography, formed upon the plan above described, might be divided.

Further, dates are rarely annexed to the events between the baptism and the death of Christ, and therefore if we read any one Gospel by itself, the arrangement of the events in that Gospel is almost the only criterion, by which we can judge of the succession, in which the events really happened. Hence it has been commonly supposed that every thing which St. Luke has related after ch. xi. 51. happened after Christ's last departure from Galilee; but that several things, which St. Luke has recorded after ch. xi. 51. took place long before Christ's last departure from Galilee, is evident from St. Matthew's Gospel, as will be shewn hereafter. If therefore we were to estimate our Evangelists as human historians, and measure their Gospels by the rules of historical composition, might we not affirm, that their Gospels would have attained a still greater excellence, if the facts had been arranged in chronological order? There can be no more reason for denying that they would, merely because chronological order has not been observed by all the Evangelists, than there is for denying what was likewise very strenuously asserted in the former part of this century, that the Evangelists wrote as pure and classic Greek, as Xenophon or Plato. Besides, if chronological order does not contribute to the perspicuity of an history, what is the reason that so many harmonists have taken such immense pains to restore it, by transposing and re-arranging the several parts of the Gospels? Lastly, the advantages to be derived from a defence of unchronological order are not so great, as our author expects: for, when the question relates to the arrangement of the *same set* of facts, there can be only one order, whatever that order may be, whether chronological or unchronological, which can be the best: and therefore, when two or more writers have differently arranged the same set of facts, the imagined excellence cannot have been attained by all. Consequently, since the *same set* of facts are arranged by St. Mark and St. Luke in one order, but by St. Matthew in another, an apology for their arrangement, on the

the principle that a better order may be devised, than that of time, would not answer our purpose, even if the principle itself were true.

Instead therefore of supposing that our Evangelists *designedly* violated the order of time, and that with a knowledge of the real succession of their facts they purposely inverted them in their narrative, a supposition, which is surely an affront to their judgement and good sense, may we not rather suppose, since inspiration does not produce omniscience, that, when the same facts are referred by one Evangelist to one period, by another Evangelist to another period of Christ's life, they had a knowledge indeed of the facts themselves, but that not both of them had a knowledge of the particular period in which they happened? St. Mark and St. Luke were not eye-witnesses to the transactions, which they have recorded, and St. Luke himself acknowledges in his preface, and that he had obtained his information by diligent inquiry. It is therefore highly probable, that the real succession of the events, which they have related, was not always known to them. St. Matthew on the contrary, who was one of the twelve Apostles, must in general have known the real succession of the facts, which he has delivered: and as he must likewise have known, that in a narrative without dates the arrangement of the facts was the only criterion, by which his reader could judge of their succession, we must conclude that St. Matthew's order is in general, I will not say without exception, chronological. According to this representation, we may satisfactorily explain all the differences in point of time, which are observable in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke: the explanation neither offers an affront to the judgement of the Evangelists, nor does injury to the Christian religion: and it even anticipates every objection on the score of contradictions in time, because, when only one among three writers, who have recorded the same facts, is supposed to lay claim to a precise knowledge of the times, in which the facts happened,

pened, the assertion, that he can be contradicted in point of time by the other two, becomes itself a contradiction.

3. The meaning of *καθ' ἑξῆς*, Luke i. 3. will be explained in the Dissertation on the Origin of our three first Gospels.

4. But surely not at a venture, or without some motive for arranging his facts in the order, which he has chosen.

5. The meaning of *αναλαξασθαι διηγῆσιν* will be considered hereafter in the Dissertation just mentioned. All that can be observed at present is, that St. Luke is so far from applying the expression *αναλαξασθαι διηγῆσιν* to himself, that he opposes it to *καθ' ἑξῆς γράψαι*, by which he denotes the plan, on which he himself proceeded. Whatever therefore was the plan adopted by the persons of whom St. Luke speaks in his Preface, we cannot argue from their plan to that of St. Luke, but must rather deduce a contrary inference.

PAGE 12.

6. In Luke iv. 14. as also in Matth. iv. 12. and Mark i. 14. is described in general terms Christ's arrival in Galilee after his baptism by John. In ch. iv. 15. St. Luke says that 'he taught in their synagogues being glorified of all,' without mentioning the name of any city in particular. In ver. 16—30. (a portion peculiar to St. Luke), is described Christ's arrival at Nazareth, his transactions there, and his departure. In ver. 31. is described Christ's arrival at Capernaum, and in the following part of ch. iv. (not in ch. v. as our author says) are related certain miracles, which Christ performed at Capernaum. St. Matthew, after having related in ch. iv. 12. Christ's return to Galilee, describes neither what was done by Christ before he came to Nazareth, nor what he did in Nazareth, but says in ver. 13. that he left Nazareth to go to Capernaum. St. Mark also relates in ch. i. 21. Christ's arrival in Capernaum, and in ver. 22—39. he describes the
VOL. III. PART II. C miracles,

miracles, which St. Luke has described in ch. iv. 32—44. and some of these miracles are described by St. Matthew, in ch. viii. Under these circumstances we must conclude that the miracles, to which Christ alludes in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke iv. 23.) were not *those* miracles, which St. Luke has described in the latter part of ch. iv.: for not only St. Luke, but likewise St. Matthew and St. Mark have assigned to them a period, which must be subsequent to that of Christ's arrival at Nazareth, mentioned in Luke iv. 16. Besides, no historian, who has a regard to consistency, as St. Luke certainly had, would in a former part of his history, introduce an allusion to a fact as already happened, and yet record that fact in a later part of his history. The miracles therefore performed at Capernaum, to which allusion is made in Luke iv. 23. must have been performed on Christ's journey through Galilee before he came to Nazareth. That St. Luke has not mentioned Capernaum *by name* in ver. 14, 15. is true: but since he has given in that passage such a general description, that Capernaum may be included in it, and has expressly said in ver. 14, 15. that Christ had 'the power of the spirit,' and that, 'his fame went throughout the region round about,' he cannot be charged with inconsistency. Of allusions in speeches to facts not recorded in the narration itself examples may be produced even from the classic authors. Thus Livy introduces in B. XXI. ch. 18. a speech as delivered to the Roman ambassadors in the Carthaginian senate, in which the orator alludes to the fact, that the treaty made by Asdrubal relative to the city of Saguntum was not ratified by the Carthaginian government. But in ch. 2. where Livy gives an account of the treaty, this fact is left wholly unnoticed. The example therefore, which our author has selected, as an instance of St. Luke's inversion of chronological order, is not happily chosen: and since St. Luke's account of Christ's arrival at Nazareth in ch. iv. 16. and his departure from that place to go to Capernaum, ver. 30,

31. exactly accords with St. Matthew's account in ch. iv. 13. we must conclude that St. Luke as well as St. Matthew, has here abided by the order of time.

7. Not all the harmonists have adopted this strange principle. Archbishop Newcome, for instance, in his *Harmony of the Gospels* (Dublin, 1778, fol.) has totally discarded it.

8. In his *Remarks on the Harmony of the Evangelists*, written in German, and published at Lemgo, in 1737, 4to.

PAGE 13.

9. Printed at Gottingen in 1762.

PAGE 14.

10. The case in question is simply this. In Matth. viii. 19—22. and Luke ix. 57—60. is related a conversation of Christ with two persons, who wished to become his disciples. To the one Christ says, 'Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head:' to the other, who requested leave to bury his father, Christ answers, 'Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead.' Both St. Matthew and St. Luke relate the second answer as given immediately after the first, and they agree likewise word for word in both answers. But the whole conversation, according to its position in St. Matthew's Gospel, took place near the lake of Gennesaret, whereas according to its position in St. Luke's Gospel, it took place on Christ's last journey from Galilee to Jerusalem. The obvious conclusion therefore is, that St. Matthew who was present at the conversation, has assigned to it a place in his Gospel, to which it properly belongs, but that St. Luke, who was not an Apostle, did not know the exact time when it was held, and therefore assigned to it a place in his Gospel, to which, if regard be had to chronological order, it did not belong. To suppose that the former answer was delivered on two
c 2 different

different occasions, that the one was noted by St. Matthew, the other by St. Luke, and that the second answer (which, as our author himself acknowledges, was delivered only on one occasion, and moreover, in his opinion, on an occasion different from either of the other two) was annexed in each place by the Evangelists themselves to the former answer, is surely to transgress the bounds of probability. Unless the two answers had been delivered at the same time, the two Evangelists would hardly have agreed by mere accident in placing them together: and if the latter part of the conversation took place only once, we must conclude the same of the former.

SECT. III.

1. Our author here delivers very excellent rules, though he himself has not always adhered to them in the examination of particular cases.

PAGE 15.

2. St. Matthew (ch. xxi. 23), and St. Mark (ch. xi. 27.) determine the place, as St. Luke has also done: but neither of them has even an allusion to the time.

3. In Matth. xxi. 23—27. Mark xi. 27—33. Luke xx. 1—8. the same thing is related by all three Evangelists, and nearly in the same words. There is therefore no room for contradiction. Perhaps our author means Matth. xxi. 33. compared with Mark xii. 1.

PAGE 17.

4. Lightfoot, Whiston, Whitby, and Macknight, argue in favour of two different unctions: but archbishop Newcome, who takes the same side of the question with our author, has very well answered their arguments

guments in his Notes on the Harmony of the Gospels, P. 39, 40.

PAGE 22.

5. The present question lies in a very short compass. Both St. Matthew in ch. xxvi. 2. and St. Mark in ch. xiv. 1. have brought their narrative as far as the third day before the passover: for the latter says, 'After two days was the feast of the passover, and of unleavened bread, and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take him by craft, and put him to death:' according to the former Christ says, 'Ye know that after two days is the feast of the passover, and the Son of man is betrayed to be crucified;' on which St. Matthew adds, ver. 3—5. 'then assembled together the chief priests, &c.' Both St. Matthew and St. Mark therefore agree (a circumstance not noted by our author) in determining as precisely as possible, that the assembly of the chief priests and elders was held on the third day before the passover. St. Matthew then proceeds immediately in ver. 6—13. and St. Mark in ver. 3—9. to relate the unction of Christ at Bethany, a village near Jerusalem: on which St. Matthew adds, ver. 14, 15. 'then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests, and said, 'What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you?' and St. Mark adds, ver. 10. 'and Judas Iscariot one of the twelve, went unto the chief priests, to betray him unto them.' It is evident therefore that Judas Iscariot went from Bethany into Jerusalem, not only on the very day, that the assembly of the chief priests and elders was held at the house of Caiaphas (Matth. xxvi. 3.) but while they were still sitting; for they covenanted together, and agreed to give thirty pieces of silver, as the price of the treachery. Consequently, the unction at Bethany from which Judas was just come, must, according to the representation both of St. Matthew and of St. Mark, have taken place likewise on the third day before the passover. Further, not only on the third

day before the passover is determined by St. Matthew in ch. xxvi. 2. and by St. Mark in ch. xiv. 1. but likewise 'the first day of unleavened bread' is afterwards determined by St. Matthew in ver. 17. and by St. Mark in ver. 12. Here then we have two precise points of time fixed by both Evangelists. To suppose therefore that they could agree in fixing these two precise points of time, and yet place in the short interval between these two points of time a transaction, which they knew belonged to a different period, is to suppose, that they acted on principles, which the very worst historian would not adopt. Archbishop Newcome in his Notes to his Harmony, p. 40. says, 'It is natural to conclude from the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark that it happened two days before the passover.' Accordingly he refers in his Harmony, p. 214. (as Jebb likewise and some other harmonists have done) Christ's unction at Bethany to Wednesday in Passion-week: and he endeavours to reconcile the Evangelists by making in St. John's text a transposition similar to that, which our author proposes in respect to St. Matthew's. Namely he separates John xii. 1. where the expression *πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν* occurs, from ver. 2—8. in which the unction at Bethany is related: he joins ver. 9. to ver. 1. and places them, p. 184. as belonging to the Saturday before the passover, and transfers the intermediate verses 2—8. to p. 214. as belonging to the Wednesday before the passover. But if we read in connexion John xii. 1, 2. *Ὁ ὢν Ἰησοῦς πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν τε πᾶσχα ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν, ὅπου ἦν Λαζάρῳ ὁ τεθνεὺς, ὃν ἠγέρειν ἐκ νεκρῶν. Ἐποίησαν ὢν αὐτῷ δείπνον ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἡ Μαρία διηκονεῖ, κ. τ. λ.* we must perceive that it was St. John's intention to signify, that the supper at Bethany, of which he speaks in ver. 2. was given on *that very visit* at Bethany, of which he speaks in ver. 1. and not on another visit four days afterwards. The mode of reconciliation therefore adopted by those who refer the unction to Wednesday is not more satisfactory, than that which is given by our author, who refers it to the preceding

preceding Saturday, as Augustin has done in his treatise *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, Lib. II. cap. lxxviii. Tom. III. P. ii. p. 55. ed. Benedict. Antwerp. What the true solution of this difficulty is, I am unable to determine: but for want of a better the following may at least be proposed. It is probable, if we may judge from some of the oldest Greek manuscripts, that St. John expressed the number (whether $\xi\xzeta$, or any other) not by a word, but by a Greek numeral letter. Suppose then St. John wrote $\Pi\text{ΡΟ Γ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ}$, that is, *πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν*, his date will agree with that of St. Matthew and St. Mark, who say that the passover was 'after two days:' for if we say that an event will happen after two days, the day, on which we use the expression, is the third day before that event. But if St. John used the Greek numeral Γ , a transcriber might easily mistake this figure, especially if the cross-stroke at the bottom was longer than usual, for the figure E , which in the old Greek manuscripts denotes $\xi\xzeta$, being nothing more than an upright and an inverted Γ placed together *, in the same manner as the Romans formed their X from an upright and an inverted V . That the two figures Γ and E may be easily confounded we know from the example of Wetstein, who has quoted Γ from the Codex Bezae in Mark xv. 33. though the manuscript itself has very legibly, and moreover a prima manu, as I can testify from actual examination, the figure E , and in the Latin translation on the opposite page, sexta is written at full length. Now if in one of the earliest transcripts of St. John's Gospel E was falsely written for Γ , this mistake might have been propagated so widely, as to prevent any manuscript now extant from having the original reading. I am aware however that even this solution is not free from objec-

* This is the origin (which the native Greek grammarians did not know) of the figure ς , which is nothing more than E , with a turn given to the lower stroke.

objections: for St. John describes in ch. xii. 12—15. Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem as taking place the day after the unction of Bethany.

6. Neither is the division of St. Matthew's text into the modern chapters the reason why we believe that St. Matthew has determined the time of Christ's unction at Bethany, nor will any new division, however artificial, prevent that belief.

PAGE 23.

7. The expression 'order of things' is not peculiar to our author, for Chemnitz in the Prolegomena to his Harmony, p. 4. (ed Francofurti, 1600, 4to.) says of St. Matthew, '*Licet in plerisque rerum potissimum rationem habens, historiam contexerit, &c.*' and Grotius in his Note to Luke iv. 21. says, '*Lucam ad rerum magis, quam ad temporum ordinem attendere:*' and other commentators use the same expression, though they are not agreed in which of the Gospels this supposed order is observed. Now when we speak of the order of time, every one knows exactly what is meant: but the term 'order of things' is so vague, that it is difficult to assign to it any determinate notion. We may have a good order of things, or we may have a bad order of things: but the best order of things is in general, I will not say without exception, that, which agrees with the order of time.

8. See what was said on this subject in Note 2. to the preceding section.

PAGE 24.

9. That the rebuke, which Judas Iscariot received from Christ at the unction in Bethany determined him in his resolution to betray his master, that Christ's rebuke therefore and Judas's revenge were cause and effect, and that the account of the one is very properly joined by St. Matthew (and also by St. Mark) to the account of the other, I readily admit with our author, in opposition to Dr. Priestley, who says, in his Observations

vations on the Harmony of the Evangelists, p. 100. that the verses Matth. xxvi. 6—13. which contain the account of the unction, ‘stand very awkwardly in their present situation.’ But I cannot agree with our author in the opinion, that several days elapsed between the unction at Bethany and Judas’s going to the assembly of the chief Priests with an offer to betray Christ, and consequently that the account of the unction at Bethany belongs to the beginning of Matth. xxi. according to the order of time. For, whoever reads in connection Matth. xxvi. 1—11. must perceive that these three facts, 1st the assembling the chief priests and elders at the house of Caiaphas, 2dly the unction of Christ at Bethany, and 3dly Judas’s departure from Bethany to go to the assembly of the chief priests, are represented by both Evangelists as facts *immediately* connected with each other, and not as facts which were separated from each other by the intervention of all those transactions, which had been recorded in several preceding chapters. St. Matthew having mentioned in ver. 2. that after two days was the Passover, immediately adds in ver. 3. ΤΟΤΕ συνήχθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, κ. τ. λ. and St. Mark says, ver. 1. Ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐζητεῖν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, κ. τ. λ. Both St. Matthew and St. Mark therefore represent the assembly of the chief priests as held on the third day before the passover; and though our author will not allow any determinate meaning to τότε in St. Matthew’s account, we cannot explain away what is said by St. Mark. St. Matthew then proceeds in ver. 6. Τὰ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γενομένη ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σιμωνος τὰ λεπρῶν, κ. τ. λ. and St. Mark, ver. 3. Καὶ οὐτὼ αὐτὲ ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σιμωνος τὰ λεπρῶν, κ. τ. λ. They then relate the unction, with Christ’s conversation on it: which being ended, St. Matthew continues in ver. 14. ΤΟΤΕ πορευθεὶς εἰς τῶν δώδεκα, ὁ λεγομένος Ἰσδὰς Ἰσκαριώτης πρὸς τὰς ἀρχιερεῖς, εἶπε, κ. τ. λ. and St. Mark in ver. 10. Καὶ ὁ Ἰσδὰς ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης, εἰς τῶν δώδεκα ἀπηλθε πρὸς τὰς ἀρχιερεῖς, κ. τ. λ. Here again it is evident that both St. Matthew and St. Mark re-
present

present Judas as going immediately from the unction at Bethany (a village not more than two miles from Jerusalem) to the assembly of the chief priests and elders, which was held during the time of the unction, and which did not break up before the arrival of Judas.

10. This instance is Matth. xxvii. 59, 60. compared with John xix. 41, 42. St. Matthew describing the burial of the body of Jesus by Joseph of Arimathea says εθηκεν αυτο εν τω καινω αυτα μνημειω ο ελαλομησεν εν τη περιεργα: but St. John, though he agrees with St. Matthew in saying that the tomb was a new one, does not mention either that it belonged to Joseph, or that it had been made by his order, nor does either St. Mark or St. Luke mention these two circumstances. Further our author observes in the place, to which he alludes, that as Joseph (in his opinion) lived at Arimathea, it is not probable, that a tomb had been made for him at Jerusalem, because it was the practice of the Jews to bury the dead as soon as possible, and not to transport them from one town to another. He concludes therefore, that our present Greek text in Matth. xxvii. 60. is faulty, and appeals to the Codex Winesleanus (to which may be added the MS. which Matthäi denotes by it, and also the Armenian version) which omits αυτα before μνημειω, and to the old Syriac and Philoxenian versions, which, instead of ο ελαλομησεν, express ην λελαλομημενον, the former in the text itself, the latter in the margin. But these few authorities will hardly outweigh the united evidence of all other authorities; and as no manuscript has both alterations, it is probable, unless the omission of αυτα is to be ascribed to an oversight, that each of them was made in order to remove a seeming difficulty. Nor is there any necessity for appealing to them; for when two historians agree in the main fact, it cannot be said that they contradict each other, merely because the one omits a circumstance, which the other has related, and we might as well contend, that St. John has contradicted St. Matthew

threw in relating ver. 39. that Nicodemus, of whom St. Matthew says not a word, assisted Joseph in the interment. As to the objection that a tomb at or near Jerusalem could hardly be the property of Joseph, it is of no weight whatsoever. For though we may infer from the expression *Ιωσηφ ο απο Αριμαθαιας*, that Joseph was either born at Arimathea, or that he spent the former part of his life there, we are not warranted to conclude that Arimathea was the place of his residence, when Christ was crucified, and that he was come to Jerusalem at that time merely on account of the Passover. On the contrary we may infer from Luke xxiii. 50, 51. that he was become a member of the Jewish Sanhedrim; for St. Luke after having given him the title *βουλευτης*, adds *εἰς ἐκ τῶν συγκαταλεγμένων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν*. Now St. Luke would have hardly thought it necessary to observe, that Joseph did not assist at that meeting of the Sanhedrim, which was held in order to concert measures against Christ, unless Joseph had been a member of the Sanhedrim: for when it is known, that a man has no right to be present at a meeting, it is both useless and absurd to observe that he did not attend it. Further, St. Luke assigns the reason why Joseph did not attend that meeting: for he adds *προσεδίχθη τὴν βασιλειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*. We must conclude therefore that St. Luke has here used *βουλευτης* to denote ‘a person who had a seat and voice in the Sanhedrim,’ (not a magistrate of Arimathea, as our author in the place to which he refers, has conjectured), that after he had applied this title to Joseph, he was aware, his readers might suspect, that Joseph had assisted at the deliberation (*συγκαταλεγμένων τῇ βουλῇ*) against Christ; that he therefore thought it necessary to assure them of the contrary, and to assign as a reason, why Joseph absented himself, that he believed, that Jesus was the Messiah. Lastly, this explanation accords perfectly well with the account given by St. Matthew and St. John, that the tomb was a new one, and with that of St. Luke, that no one had been buried in it.

For

For if the family of Joseph lived originally at Arimathea, and he himself was the first, who settled in Jerusalem, we may suppose that in the vault, which he, as a man of rank, and a man of considerable property (πλυσίτης, Matth. xxvii. 57.) would take care to have made at his new place of residence, no one of Joseph's family had been buried at the time, when Christ was crucified.

SECT. IV.

PAGE 25.

1. What our author has written in the thirty pages, to which he here alludes, deserves particular attention. But a translation of the whole would take up too much room in these notes: and a sketch of his arguments is unnecessary, because he himself has given it in this section.

PAGE 27.

2. The symbolic books of the Lutherans correspond to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England.

SECT. V.

PAGE 30.

1. In this reference there must be some mistake, for Luke ii. 51. relates to Christ's return from Jerusalem to Nazareth, when he was twelve years of age, and therefore admits of no comparison with St. Matthew's history of Christ's infancy. Our author means to compare Luke ii. 1—39. with Matth. i. 18.—ii. 23.

2. Our author's Notes not only on the four Gospels but on the whole New Testament have been since published under the following title: J. D. Michaelis Anmerkungen für Ungerlehrte zu seiner Uebersetzung des Neuen

Neuen Testaments, Gottingen, 1790—1792, 4 Vols. 4to.

PAGE 31.

3. The German title of this work has been already mentioned in Note 1. to Ch. ii. Sect. 1.

4. It must be observed in justice to Lessing, who was the publisher only, not the author of the fragments, that he has accompanied the publication of that fragment, in which the history of the resurrection is attacked, with a remark, in which he acknowledges, that no differences in the accounts of the Evangelists can disprove the fact itself.

5. See Note 2. to Ch. ii. Sect. 1.

S E C T. VI.

1. In the new edition of Fabricii *Bibliotheca Græca*, the fourth volume of which was published at Hamburg in 1795, the alphabetical list of Harmonies is in Vol. IV. p. 882—889. and is augmented by the addition of Harmonies, which were either overlooked by Fabricius, or have been published since his time. But even in this improved catalogue is omitted Toinardi *Harmonia Græco-Latina*, Parisiis 1707, folio, a very minute, indeed anxiously minute Greek harmony, which is not generally known. Another list of Greek harmonies, with a division into classes, and the authors in each class arranged in chronological order, may be seen in Walchii *Bibliotheca Theologica*, Tom. IV. p. 863—900.

2. The German title of this book is, *Haubers Leben Jesu Christi*. It was published at Lemgo in 1737, 8vo.

3. The Harmony published by Ottomar Luscinius, or, as he was called in German, Othmar Nachtigal, bears in the original edition the name, not of Tatian, but of Ammonius of Alexandria. The title of the original edition is, *Evangelicæ historiæ ex quatuor Evangelistis*
perpetuo

perpetuo tenore continuata narratio, ex Ammonii Alexandrini fragmentis quibusdam e Græco per Ottomarum Lusciniū versā. At the end of this Latin translation, which is not accompanied with the Greek text, (nor has Luscinius mentioned in what library the Greek fragments from which he translated, were preserved) is, *Finis perpetuæ narrationis evangelicæ. Ex Ammonio Alexandrino, per Ottomarum Lusciniū.* The date of the subscription is, *Augustæ Vindelicorum Men. Novembri, An. MDXXIII.* In the edition of the *Orthodoxographa*, which was printed at Basél in 1555, this Latin translation of Ottomar Luscinius is re-printed p. 221—235, under the title, ‘*Evangeliorum quatuor narratio ex Ammonio Alexandrino, Ottomaro Luscinio interprete.*’ It is likewise re-printed in the *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* (Lugduni 1677, folio) Tom. II. P. ii. p. 213—212. But the editors of the *Maxima Bibliotheca* have taken the liberty to alter the title, and have affixed to the very same work, for I have compared both re-impressions of it, the title, not of ‘*Ammonii Alexandrini, &c.*’ but of *Tatiani Assyrii SS. Evangeliorum Diatessaron*, because they supposed that the harmony published by Luscinius was really that of Tatian, for which they assign their reasons, p. 203. This alteration of the title has created very great confusion: for one writer calls it by the original title, another, as our author has done, by its title in the *Maxima Bibliotheca*. With respect to the work itself, it is not an Harmony in the sense, in which we understand the term, for it is nothing more than a summary of the life of Christ delivered in the author’s own words. It consists of four Parts. The first Part contains the account of Christ’s birth, but without any genealogy, the account of his going to Jerusalem when he was twelve years of age, the account of his baptism, and his return to Galilee. The second part is entitled, *Annus primus dominicæ prædicationis*: the third part, *Dominicæ prædicationis annus secundus*: and the fourth part, *Tertius annus dominicæ prædicationis.*

4. The

4. The title of the work published by Michael Memler is, *Quatuor Evangeliorum consonantia*, ab Ammonio Alexandrino congesta, ac a Victore Capuano Episcopo translata. Moguntiae. And the subscription at the end of the work is, *Moguntiae in ædibus Joannis Shoeffler, Anno salutis MDXXIII. Mense Februario.* It is an Harmony in the proper sense of the word, for it is a compilation from the four Gospels, in which the words of the Evangelists are retained. It consists of an hundred and eighty-one sections or chapters, to the first of which is prefixed St. Luke's preface. Ch. i. relates to the *Λογος*, John i. 1. &c. ch. ii. iii. iv. contain the account of the birth of Christ, and of John the Baptist taken from Luke i. 5. &c. ch. v. contains the genealogy of Christ, taken from Matth. i. and so on. (We have a short Harmony of the Evangelists in English, formed exactly on the same plan.) To the harmony itself is prefixed the preface of Victor, who was Bishop of Capua in the sixth century, and who made the Latin translation, which Memler published. In this preface Victor says, that his copy of the Greek original, from which he made the translation, had no title, and therefore that, as two Greek writers, Tatian and Ammonius, had written Greek harmonies, he was uncertain, to which of the two the work in question should be ascribed. His words are, 'Dum fortuitu in manus meas incideret unum ex quatuor Evangelium compositum, et absente titulo non invenirem nomen auctoris,' &c. and he afterwards concludes, 'ut jure ambigi possit, utrum Ammonii, an Tatiani inventio ejusdem operis debeat estimari.' He is inclined however to ascribe it to Tatian. But Memler, in his Dedication to Chancellor Westhausen, says, that most of the learned were of opinion that not Tatian, but Ammonius was the author of it, for which reason he ascribed it to Ammonius in the title page. In the same dedication Memler likewise says, that the Latin manuscript, from which he printed the work, was preserved in the library belonging to a convent at Erbach in the Electorate

Electorate of Mentz. Memler's publication was reprinted in the *Maxima Bibliotheca veterum patrum* (Lugduni 1667.) Tom. III. p. 266—299. under the title *Sanctorum quatuor Evangeliorum Harmonia Ammonio Alexandrino authore*. But though the text of the Harmony itself agrees with the text of Memler's edition, as I have found on comparing them, yet the hundred and eighty-one chapters are not separated from each other with titles at the head of each chapter, but are distinguished only by a marginal notation. Another re-impression of this work is given in the *Orthodoxographa*, p. 110—188. of the edition printed at Basel in 1555: but the editors of the *Orthodoxographa* have altered the title, and have changed 'Ammonii' to 'Tatiani,' and yet leaving the epithet *Alexandrini*, which cannot be given to Tatian, unaltered, have prefixed to their re-impression of Memler's edition the title, *Evangeliorum quatuor Harmonia, Tatiano Alexandrino authore*. Here we have another source of confusion in respect to the two harmonies; for, as the publication of Ottomar Luscinius is called by one critic Tatian's harmony according to its title in the *Maxima Bibliotheca*, by another critic the Harmony of Ammonius, according to its original title, so the publication of Michael Memler is called by one critic the Harmony of Ammonius, by another the Harmony of Tatian, according to its different titles in the different editions of it.

Of the harmony translated into Latin by Victor of Capua, and published by Michael Memler, there exists an old German translation, though no one knows by whom or in what century it was made. A vellum manuscript containing this old German translation, together with Victor's Latin, from which, and not from the Greek, the German translation was undoubtedly made, belonged formerly to Franciscus Junius, from whose library it came with the rest of Junius's manuscripts into the Bodleian library at Oxford. See the *Catalog. librorum MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*,
Tom.

Tom. I. p. 249. N^o 5113. Palthenius, Professor at Gripswald, took a copy of this MS. during his residence at Oxford, and published it at Gripswald in 1706. In the Appendix to the second volume of Schilter's Thesaurus, which was published after Schilter's death, this old German translation, together with Victor's Latin is re-pinted under the following title: *Tatiani Syri Harmonia Evangelica, e Latina Victoris Capuani versione translata in linguam Theoticam antiquissimam. Editio post primam Palthenianam nova emendatio: ad apographa duo MSta, et curas J. Schilteri posthumas studiose recensita, subjectis notulis.* Ulmæ 1727. fol. But in Schilter's preface, and in the running title at the top of each page is *Tatiani Alexandrini Harmonia*, &c. as in the *Orthodoxographa*. The Latin text of this work, with exception to a few various readings, agrees, as I have found on actual comparison with the Latin text published by Memler, though Memler has affixed to *his* edition the title *Quatuor Evangeliorum consonantia ab Ammonio*, &c. With respect to the divisions, the first seventy-five chapters are the same in both texts; Ch. I. begins in both texts with 'Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt,' &c. Luke i. 1. and Ch. LXXV. ends in both texts with 'aliud quidem centesimum, aliud autem sexagesimum, aliud vero tricesimum,' Matth. xiii. 23. In the text printed in Schilter's Thesaurus there is a chasm from Ch. LXXVI. to Ch. CLII. probably because there was a chasm there in Junius's manuscript: but Ch. CLIII. begins as in Memler's text, with *Et factum est cum consummasset Jesus*, &c. Matth. xxvi. 1. From this place to the end, though the two texts are the same, and both of them close with the same words, 'prædicaverunt ubique domino co-operante et sermonem confirmante, sequentibus signis,' Mark xvi. 20. yet the chapters do not correspond, because the divisions are less numerous in Memler's edition than they are in the other.

I have been thus particular in the description both of the original editions, and of the re-impressions of

the two harmonies in question, in order to correct the mistakes which have been made about them. Even Fabricius in his *Codex Apocryphus N. T.* Tom. I. p. 378. has confounded these two harmonies, and asserted that the harmony, of which Palthenius took a copy, was the same as the harmony published by Ottomar Luscinius: but this is so far from being true, that on the contrary it is the very same as the harmony published by Michael Memler, as appears from what was said in the preceding paragraph. However it is not extraordinary, that Fabricius and other critics have confounded the two harmonies, since the original editions by Luscinius and Memler are very scarce, and in the re-impressions of them, as well in the *Orthodoxographa* as in the *Maxima Bibliotheca*, the titles have not only been altered, but altered in such a manner, that the harmony which in the one bears the name of Ammonius, bears in the other the name of Tatian, and vice versa. Hence different harmonies have been quoted by the same name, and the same harmony by different names, according as critics used the *Orthodoxographa* or the *Maxima Bibliotheca*. Other writers again have quoted from the quotations of their predecessors, without consulting the harmonies themselves, and have thus added confusion to confusion, till at length the reader is involved in a labyrinth, from which nothing but the clue of Ariadne can extricate him.

PAGE 32.

5. The first question to be asked is: who was the author of the Greek Harmony, of which Ottomar Luscinius published a Latin translation? That it is ascribed to Ammonius of Alexandria in the edition, which Luscinius himself published appears from the title, which has been already quoted in Note 3. It likewise bore the name of Ammonius in the Greek manuscript, from which Luscinius made his Latin translation: for though Luscinius has not declared it in
express

express terms, and indeed did not think it necessary, since it could not occur to him that any one would suspect him of having prefixed a name, which was not in his manuscript, yet the following passage of his Preface evidently implies that the name of Ammonius really was prefixed to the Harmony in the Greek manuscript. ‘Docet sacer Augustinus, qua ratione una narratio omnium quatuor complecti possit dicta. Eusebius in eâ pulchram navavit operam. Nec minorem Ammonius Alexandrinus, in cuius fragmenta jampridem incidimus, *modo fallax non sit titulus.*’ From this passage it appears likewise that Luscinius himself was in doubt, whether the Harmony was not falsely ascribed to Ammonius of Alexandria. Now if the well known Ammonius of Alexandria is meant, namely the Ammonius who lived in the former part of the third century, who divided the Gospels into the sections, which are known by his name, and who is said by the ancients to have written a Harmony, he certainly was not the author of *that* Harmony, of which Luscinius made a Latin translation. For the ecclesiastical writers before the fourth century were not of opinion that Christ’s ministry lasted three or even two years. Clement and Origen, both of whom, as well as Ammonius, lived at Alexandria, (and the latter was contemporary with Ammonius) confine Christ’s ministry, the one to a single year, the other to a year and a few months*. But in the Harmony published by Luscinius Christ’s ministry is divided into a history of three years, not only in the superscriptions to the several portions, as ‘*annus primus dominicæ prædicationis, &c.*’ which the advocates for the antiquity of this work might say were added by transcribers, but likewise in the text itself. For the portion entitled, ‘*Dominicæ prædicationis annus secundus,*’ begins with ‘*Anni autem secundi initium*
Jesus,

* The authorities for these assertions will be quoted in Note 9: to the following section.

Jesus, &c. and ends with ‘ Et hæ quidem res gestæ finem secundo dominicæ predicationis anno imposuere :’ and the last portion begins with ‘ Extremus annus dominicæ prædicationis, qui, &c.’ Consequently Ammonius, who lived in the third century, was not the author of this Harmony. For the same reason, Tatian, who lived still earlier, was not the author of it, though the editors of the Maxima Bibliotheca and several other critics call it Tatian’s Harmony. Besides, that it is neither Ammonius’s nor Tatian’s is evident for other reasons. For Eusebius in his Epistle to Carpianus, says of Ammonius, το δια τεσσαρων ημιν καλα-
λελοιπεν ευαγγελιον, τῷ καλα Μάρθαιον τας ομοφωνες των λοιπων ευαγγελισων περικοπας παραθεις, and then adds that the plan adopted by Ammonius suggested to him the ten canons, which he himself drew up. But the work published by Luscinius is formed upon a very different plan, being nothing more than a summary of the life of Christ delivered in the author’s own words, and without regard to parallel passages. And that it is not Tatian’s appears from the description, which Theodoret has given of Tatian’s Harmony. For Theodoret says (Heret. Fab. Lib. I. cap. 20.) of Tatian, εἰς και δια
τεσσαρων καλυμενον συνθετικον ευαγγελιον, τας τε γενεαλογιας περικοψας, και τα αλλα οσα εκ σπερματις Δαβιδ καλα σαρκα γεγεννημενον τον Κυριον δεικνυσι: but the author of the Harmony published by Luscinius, though he has omitted the genealogies, is so far from having avoided all reference to Christ’s descent from David, that in the very first paragraph he has related the birth of Christ in the following words, ‘ quum Joseph Bethlehem, quæ civitas erat David, ad quem genus referebat, &c.’ Lastly, the very title το δια τεσσαρων ευαγγελιον, which is applied by Theodoret and Eusebius to the harmonies of Tatian and Ammonius, is wholly unsuitable to the work published by Luscinius.—Whether this work was really written by some other person called Ammonius, who lived in a later age, since the name of Ammonius was prefixed to it in the Greek manuscript, or whether
it

it is a mere forgery in the name of Ammonius, who lived in the third century, is a question, which it is difficult to determine, and is in fact of no importance. Mill (*Prol. sect. 353.*) is of the former opinion: but since no ecclesiastical writer speaks of any harmony, or even of any life of Christ written by another Ammonius, the latter opinion is not improbable, unless the author lived in such obscurity as to remain wholly unknown. However, if it is a forgery, and was designed to be imposed on the world, as the harmony of that Ammonius, who lived in the third century, the author of it has shewn himself to be wholly unqualified for the task.

The remaining question to be asked is: Who was the author of that harmony, which was published by Michael Memler? That this harmony is a Latin translation made in the sixth century by Victor of Capua from a Greek manuscript, of which the title containing the name of the author was lost, that Victor therefore was in doubt whether he should ascribe it to Tatian or to Ammonius, but that he was inclined to ascribe it to the former, that Memler on the contrary ascribed it to Ammonius, and accordingly published it under his name, but that the editors of the *Orthodoxographa* in their reimpression of Memler's edition again assigned it to Tatian, appears from what has been said in the preceding note. Now the question, whether this is Tatian's harmony lies in a very short compass: for it has not only the passages which relate to Christ's descent from David, but in ch. v. has the genealogy contained in Matth. i. at full length, and likewise a part of the genealogy in Luke iii. which, as Theodoret expressly says, were not in Tatian's harmony. And Zachary of Chrysopolis, who lived in the twelfth century, and wrote a commentary on that very harmony which was translated by Victor, and published by Memler, declares in his Preface, that Tatian's harmony was even at that time no longer in existence. Zachary's

commentary, together with the text of the harmony itself, is printed in the *Maxima Bibliotheca*, Tom. XIX. p. 741—958. and is divided, as in Memler's edition, into an hundred and eighty-one chapters or sections. In the Preface (p. 742.) after mentioning that Ammonius and Tatian had written harmonies, but that Tatian's was no longer in existence, that Augustin had written a *Concordia Evangelistarum*, and that others had followed his example, he proceeds thus. At vero hujus operis quis author imo ordinator extiterit nihil interest ignorare. Etenim tam verba quam sententiæ non nisi Evangelistarum sunt. Matthæi namque dictis reliquorum trium excerpta (quod cuilibet perquirenti facile est cognitu) arte mirifica magisque brevitate miranda junguntur. Hoc autem prænominatum Ammonium fecisse, scribit Eusebius Carpiano. Now Eusebius in his Epistle to Carpius certainly says of Ammonius, τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον τὰς ὁμοφωνῶν τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν περιτοπᾶς παρὰ θείας, and therefore Zachary is so far right. But when he says that this description applies to the harmony, on which he wrote a commentary, he asserts what is not true. For in this harmony, as both Zachary and Memler have it, ch. i. contains a passage from St. John's Gospel, ch. ii. from St. Luke's Gospel, and in this manner to the end of the whole work the chapters contain passages sometimes from one Gospel, sometimes from another. But the harmony of Ammonius, according to the words of Eusebius, and even according to the interpretation, which Zachary himself has given them, must have contained St. Matthew's Gospel throughout, and opposite to St. Matthew's text the correspondent portions of the other Evangelists in the same manner as modern harmonies do. Zachary's appeal therefore to Eusebius, instead of proving, that the harmony, which Victor of Capua translated into Latin in the sixth century, on which Zachary himself wrote a commentary on the twelfth, and which harmony was printed by Memler

in the sixteenth century, was written by the Ammonius of Alexandria, who lived in the third century, proves the very reverse.

It appears then, that neither the work published by Ottomar Luscinius, nor the work published by Michael Memler, can be ascribed either to Tatian, or to the Ammonius, who lived in the third century.

6. In the Codex Johnsonianus, Wetstein's Codex 72 in the Gospels, a MS. supposed to have been written in the eleventh century, there is a marginal scholion to Matth. xxvii. 49. in which Tatian is quoted: but he is there quoted by his name *Τατιανος*, not by the title *ο Συρος*. See Wetstein's Note to Matth. xxvii. 49.

7. These ancient chapters are commonly called the Ammonian sections, from Ammonius, who made these divisions. In respect to the manner, in which Eusebius applied these sections, and the use to be made of his ten canons, see Note 31. to Vol. II. ch. xiii. of this Introduction.

8. Since four things, when taken three and three, may be combined four ways, and when taken two and two, may be combined six ways, Eusebius, if he had made all possible combinations, would with the first canon, which contains the passages common to all four Evangelists, and the last canon, which contains the passages peculiar to each, have had upon the whole twelve tables. But he reduced them to ten, because he found no passage, which was common to the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John, which was not likewise contained in the Gospels, either of St. Matthew or of St. Luke, and none, which were common to St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, which was not likewise contained in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

PAGE 33. *

9. This Ludolphus was a German Carthusian monk of the fifteenth century. His work entitled '*Vita Jesu Christi, ex quatuor Evangelistis aliisque scriptoribus ecclesiasticis conflata, cum commentario*,' was

first printed at Strasburgh in 1474, and was held in such high estimation, that it not only went through at least thirty editions, in France, Germany, and Italy, but was translated into French and Italian. See Walchii Bibliotheca theologica, Tom. IV. p. 866. and Fabricii Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis, Tom. IV. p. 847.

10. Jean Charlier de Gerson was chancellor of the university of Paris at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. When, or where, his Monotessaron was first printed I know not: but all his works were published at Paris in 1521, in 2 vol. fol. and again in 1606, in 4 vol. fol. He is said (for I never read his works) to have followed Augustin, and to have completed what Augustin began in his treatise, *De consensu quatuor Evangelistarum*.

11. At Louvain. The ‘*Concordia evangelica*,’ itself, the work, which properly belongs to the present place, was first printed at Louvain in 1549. But Jansen did not adopt Osiander’s principle, at least not at all times, as appears from the very title, *Concordia evangelica, in qua præterquam quod suo loco ponuntur, quæ evangelistæ non servato recensent ordine, &c.*

12. The edition of 1593 contains only what had been written by Chemnitz. The continuations of it by Leyser and Gerhard were afterwards published separately: and the whole work, including the continuations, was first published at Geneva in 1628. See Walchii Bib. Theol. Tom. IV. p. 871.

13. Chemnitz may in some things have followed Osiander too closely, but Osiander’s leading principle, that in *all* our Gospels the facts are arranged in chronological order, was absolutely rejected by Chemnitz: for he says, in his Prolegomena, p. 2. (ed. Francofurti, 1600, 4to.) ‘*Unus idemque Evangelista non semper et ubique in omnibus ordinem temporis et seriem rerum gestarum anxie observat.*’ And whoever consults the Harmony itself will find, that Chemnitz has made many transpositions in the Gospel of St. Matthew, be-
cause

cause in his opinion (Prol. p. 4.) St. Matthew had frequently departed from the order of time. Consequently Chemnitz, instead of being ranked among the followers of Osiander, as he is not only by our author, but by several other writers on this subject, ought to be placed at the head of the other class of harmonists.

14. It was reprinted in 1684, and 1695. Craddock did not adopt the strange principle of Osiander.

PAGE 34.

15. Our author mentions here only Lamy's Commentary, whereas he ought to have mentioned likewise the Harmony itself, which has the title, *Historia, five Concordia quatuor Evangelistarum, Parisiis, 1689, 12mo.* Lamy, who rejected the principle adopted by Osiander, adheres to St. Matthew's arrangement of the facts, which he has in common with St. Mark and St. Luke.

16. Le Clerc's Greek and Latin Harmony was printed at Amsterdam in 1699. The edition of 1700 contains the Latin only. To Le Clerc's Greek Harmony our author might have added Nicolai Toinardi *Harmonia Græco-Latina, Parisiis, 1707, fol.* It is a work of particular use to those who wish to examine the verbal agreement of the Evangelists, for Toinard has not only placed in adjacent columns the parallel passages, but has parallelized even single words.

17. 'Tenth' is a mistake for 'fourteenth.'

18. Whiston, on comparing the order of the facts recorded in Matth. iv. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. with the order in which the same facts are arranged in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, observed that St. Mark and St. Luke agreed in their arrangement of the facts, but that St. Matthew in the above-mentioned chapters frequently differed in his arrangement. This created no difficulty to Osiander and his followers, who, instead of untying the knot, cut it at once by making the same facts happen as often, as they found them differently arranged in different Gospels. But Whiston,
who

who had too much good sense to become a disciple of Osiander, was reduced to the necessity of acknowledging, that many of the facts, which are related in common by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, are arranged in unchronological order, either in the Gospel of St. Matthew, or in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke. But as Whiston would not admit the supposition, that the Evangelists themselves had deviated from chronological order, since this order is the most perspicuous, which an historian can adopt, he saw no other method of extricating himself from the difficulty, than to suppose, that either St. Matthew on the one hand, or St. Mark and St. Luke on the other, arranged their facts in an order different from that, which we *now* find in their Gospels, and consequently that either in the one or in the other, transpositions had been made by transcribers. And as there is less improbability in supposing, that transpositions had been made in one Gospel, than in supposing that the same transpositions have been made in two, Whiston had recourse to the former conjecture. And, as he believed that St. Mark derived the principal materials of his Gospel from that of St. Matthew, and justly argued (whether the premises themselves are true is another inquiry) that a writer, who was neither an Apostle, nor eye-witness to the facts, which he has recorded, would, in copying from an author, who was both, retain the arrangement of the facts, which that author had observed, Whiston further concluded, that St. Matthew's Gospel, in its primitive state, contained the facts in the order, in which they are arranged by St. Mark, and consequently in the order in which they are arranged by St. Luke. This mode of reasoning is so far from involving an absurdity, that it is really ingenious: and Whiston's conjecture, notwithstanding the difficulties, under which it labours, and those difficulties are not few, is still less exceptionable, not only than the principle of Osiander, but even than the principle adopted by our author, that the Evangelists designedly departed from the
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the order of time, in order to render their histories more perspicuous. However there is not the least necessity for having recourse to Whiston's conjecture, since the difference in the arrangement of the facts in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke may be explained in a much more satisfactory manner. See what has been already said in Note 2. to ch. ii. sect. 2. and what will hereafter be said on this subject in the Essay on the origin of our three first Gospels. Whoever wishes particularly to examine the objections which may be made to Whiston's conjecture, may consult an answer written by Mr. Jeremiah Jones, not long after Whiston's publication, and entitled, 'A Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel from Mr. Whiston's charge of dislocations.' Dr. Priestley, in his 'Observations on the Harmony of the Gospels' (prefixed to his Greek Harmony) p. 90. takes the other side of the question, and agrees, partly at least with Whiston.

19. This work consists of three Tomes, the third of which is subdivided into two volumes. The first only was published in 1727, the second was published in 1728, and the third, consisting of two volumes, in 1730.

PAGE 36.

20. Here may be mentioned, 'A Harmony of the four Gospels, in which the natural order of each is preserved: with a Paraphrase and Notes, by James Macknight, London, 1756, 2 vols. 4to.' Macknight, like Hauber, adheres closely to the principle of Oslander: but his paraphrase and commentary contain much useful information. Whoever makes use of this Harmony should compare with it 'Lardner's Observations upon Macknight's Harmony of the four Gospels, as far as relates to the history of our Saviour's resurrection,' first published in 1764, and reprinted in Vol. XI. p. 359—400. of the edition of Lardner's works published in 1788.

21. The

21. The German title is, ‘ Die vier Evangelisten mit ihren eigenen Worten zusammengesetzt, und verdeutsch, auch mit hinlänglichen Erklärungen versehen, Tom. I. Hamburg, 1766. This volume extends no further than Matth. vii. 29.: But Büsching, though he lived above five and twenty years after this publication, did not continue it. Whether he altered his opinion in respect to Osiander’s principle, which he had adopted, or whether he had other reasons for discontinuing the work, I know not.

22. The German title is, *Neue Harmonie der vier Evangelisten*, Halle, 1767, 4to. Bertling, like Bengel, rejects the principle of Osiander.

23. Here our author should have mentioned the Greek Harmony of archbishop Newcome, which was published at Dublin in 1778, under the following title: ‘ A Harmony of the Gospels, in which the original text is disposed after Le Clerc’s general manner, with such various readings at the foot of the page, as have received Wettstein’s sanction in his folio edition of the Greek Testament. Observations are subjoined, tending to settle the time and place of every transaction, to establish the series of facts, and to reconcile seeming inconsistencies.’ The notes annexed to this Harmony are very valuable: they display sound judgement, and great critical knowledge.

Dr. Priestley has published two Harmonies, the one entitled, ‘ A Harmony of the Evangelists in Greek, to which are prefixed critical dissertations in English, London, 1777, 4to. the other ‘ A Harmony of the Evangelists in English, with critical dissertations, an occasional paraphrase, and notes for the use of the unlearned, London, 1780, 4to.

24. All the modern harmonies of the four Gospels, of which we have above an hundred in various languages, may be divided into two classes: 1st Harmonies, of which the authors have taken for granted, that all the facts recorded in all the four Gospels are arranged in chronological order, and 2dly Harmonies, of which the

the authors have admitted, that in one or more of the four Gospels chronological order has been more or less neglected. Osiander, or as he was called in German, Hofmann, is at the head of the first class, Chemnitz at the head of the second. The harmonies of the former kind are very similar to each other, because though the authors of them had to interweave the facts recorded in one Gospel with the facts recorded in another, yet, as they invariably retained the order which was observed in each Gospel, and consequently repeated whatever facts occurred in different places in different Gospels, as often as those facts presented themselves to the harmonists in their progress through the Gospels, there was less room for material deviations in their plan and method. But in the harmonies of the latter kind we meet with considerable variations, because, though the authors of them are unanimous in their principle, they are at variance in the application of it: and, though they agree in making transpositions, by which they distinguish themselves from the harmonists of the first class, yet they do not always make the *same* transpositions. Some, for instance, have supposed, as Chemnitz, archbishop Newcome, and other harmonists of this class have done, that St. Matthew has mostly neglected chronological order, while others, as Bengel and Bertling, have supposed, that he has in general retained it. Hence, though they have all the same object in view, namely, to make a chronological harmony, or to arrange the events, which are recorded in the Gospels, as nearly as possible according to the order of the time, in which the events happened, they have adopted different modes of producing this effect. For in some harmonies the order of St. Matthew is inverted, and made subservient to that of St. Mark, while in other harmonies St. Mark's order is inverted, and made subservient to that of St. Matthew. Some harmonists again suppose, that *all* the Evangelists have neglected chronological order, while others make an exception in favour of one, or more of them, though the question, which of the Evangelists should be excepted,

cepted, likewise affords matter of debate. And even those harmonists, who agree as to the Gospel, or Gospels, in which transpositions should be made, differ in respect to the particular parts, where these transpositions ought to take place. Amid this variety of opinion, and amid the manifold arguments, by which each harmonist has ingeniously defended his own particular plan, it is really difficult to discover a fixed and solid principle, by which the events recorded by the Evangelists may be restored to chronological order. For this reason, Griesbach in the Preface to his Synopsis, p. 5. (ed. 2.) says, ‘*Ingenue profiteor, lectoresque admonitos esse cupio, Harmoniam, quam proprie dicunt in hocce libello neutiquam esse quærendam. Quamvis enim non ignorem, quantum laboris viri perdocti harmoniæ secundum regulas a se conditas in ordinem redigendæ impenderint, ego tamen exiguam utilitatem, imo nullam fere, quam non mea etiam Synopsis præstet, cuncta ista diligentia percipi posse arbitror: sed valde etiam dubito, an ex Evangelistarum libellis harmonica componi possit narratio, veritati quoad chronologicam pericoparum dispositionem satis consentanea, et firmis fundamentis superstructa.*’ The title of this work is, *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ, una cum iis Joannis pericopis quæ historiam passionis et resurrectionis Jesu Christi complectuntur. Textum recensuit et selectam lectionis varietatem adjecit J. J. Griesbach, Editio secunda, emendatio et auctior.* Halle Saxonum, 1797, 8vo. The chief purport of this Synopsis is, not to give a chronological series of events, but to represent in parallel columns all those sections, which are common to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke; St. John’s Gospel, with exception to the last part of it being omitted, because the rest of it has so very little matter in common with the other three. And, to make as few transpositions as possible St. Mark’s order is generally retained, because it is the same with that of St. Luke, as far as relates to the facts which are common to all three. Those parts, which each Evangelist has peculiar to himself,

himself, are inserted in intermediate sections. The disposition of the whole work is very commodious, and I know of no harmony, which affords so much assistance in the investigation of a subject, which has lately much engaged the attention of the German critics, and which will be particularly considered hereafter, namely, the origin of our three first Gospels, and the relation, which they bear to each other.

With respect to the question, where there is a possibility of arranging in chronological order all the facts recorded in all the four Gospels, the greatest difficulty consists in the mode of arranging St. John's Gospel. For since, if we except the two last chapters, it has so very little matter in common with the other three, every harmonist, who inserts the whole of it, must divide it into a great number of small portions, and insert them, one in one place, another in another, in intervals between the sections of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, according to the time, to which such harmonist supposes, that each of those portions belongs. But many, if not most, of these insertions are so arbitrary, and so destitute of every criterion, by which we might pronounce with certainty, that such an event recorded by St. John immediately followed this event, and immediately preceded that event, recorded by St. Matthew, St. Mark, or St. Luke, that though some of them may have been inserted according to the time, in which they have happened, we cannot be sure that even the greatest part of them have received in any harmony an exact chronological position. The safest method therefore is to confine all harmonic arrangements to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, and to consider St. John's Gospel, with exception to the two last chapters, as a work unconnected with the other three. The question of chronological order will then be reduced to a smaller compass; and since the facts, which are common to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke, are arranged by St. Mark and St. Luke in general in the same

same order, we have only to choose between their order (namely, in the facts which are common to all three) on the one hand, and that of St. Matthew on the other. For whoever supposes, that all three have neglected chronological order, and yet attempts to compose an harmony, in which the facts shall be chronologically disposed, engages in an undertaking, in which it is impossible to meet with success; since on this supposition there exists no criterion, by which the real succession of the events may be determined. Now it has been already shewn in Note 2. to Sect. ii. of this chapter, that an historian, who knows in what order the events, which he records, followed each other, and yet designedly inverts that order in his narrative, must be conscious to himself, that his plan is such, as will expose his readers to the danger of mistaking the succession of those events. On the other hand, if an historian, though accurately informed in respect to the events themselves, does not always know, in what order they followed each other, he cannot be charged with neglect, though his arrangement be not chronological, since the order of real succession, which may be justly expected from an historian, who knows it, cannot be expected from an historian, to whom it is not always known. Consequently, as St. Matthew was in general eye-witness to the facts, which he has recorded in common with St. Mark and St. Luke, but St. Mark and St. Luke were not, it is surely more reasonable to expect chronological order in the former, than in the latter. It is true, that wherever St. Matthew differs in his arrangement from St. Mark or St. Luke, these two Evangelists agree in their arrangement with each other. But this agreement affords no proof that they have written in chronological order: for, though nothing but an adherence to the real succession of events could produce an uniformity of arrangement in the works of two historians, who had no connection, either mediate or immediate with each other, yet if either the one copied from the other, or both of them drew from

from a common source, their arrangement might be the same, and yet not chronological. Now that one of these two suppositions must be adopted in respect to St. Mark and St. Luke, the late critical investigations on this subject, which will be considered hereafter, have placed beyond a doubt. The conclusion therefore, that St. Matthew's order is in general chronological rests unimpaired: and hence we may infer, that those harmonists, who take St. Matthew for their guide, must meet with more success in their attempts to produce a chronological harmony, than they who desert him.

25. A list of authors, who have endeavoured to reconcile single difficulties is given in Walchii Bibliotheca, theologica, Tom. IV. p. 901—919.

SECT. VII.

PAGE 37.

1. A similar table of contents to the four Gospels was drawn up and published many years ago at Cambridge by Jebb. Another table, though not exactly on the same plan, is given in Hofmann's edition of Pritii *Introductio in lectionem N. T.* (Lipsiæ, 1764, 8vo.) p. 486—496. But the most complete and the most useful table of this kind is that, which was published by Professor Sextroh at Gottingen in 1785, under the following title, 'Abriss der Geschichte Jesu aus den Evangelien Matthäus, Marcus, Lucas, und Johannes,' that is, A sketch of the history of Christ, from the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John.

2. Whoever admits, that the order of time is not observed in St. Mark's Gospel, must admit the same in respect to St. Luke's Gospel, because the facts, which are common to both, are placed in general in the same order.

3. Our author here confounds chronological arrangement with the assignment of dates. An historian may have arranged all his facts according to the order, in which they succeeded each other, and yet never have specified either the day, or the month, or the year, in which any one of them happened: as, on the other hand, an historian may have specified the dates of some of his facts, and yet not have uniformly preserved chronological order in the disposition of his narrative.

4. St. Luke has precisely determined the year, in which John the Baptist began to preach, but he has not expressly mentioned John's age. However we may infer from a comparison of Luke i. 36. with ch. iii. 23. that John, when he began to preach, was between thirty and thirty-one years of age.

5. This inference our author probably deduces from the following facts. First, Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was a priest of the course of Abia (Luke i. 5.) Secondly, Zacharias was in the execution of his office in the temple, when the angel Gabriel appeared to him, and announced that his wife Elisabeth would bear him a son, who should be called John (Luke i. 8—13.). Thirdly, the priests, who served in the temple, were divided by David (1 Chron. xxiv. 3—19.) into four and twenty classes, each of which served in its course, and the eighth was that of Abia (ver 10). Now the Jewish ecclesiastical year began with the new moon, which was nearest to the vernal equinox, and consequently their fourth ecclesiastical month, or Tammus, corresponded in part to our July. But whether our author's inference, that the class of Abia was in office in the month of Tammus, is valid or not, depends on the two following questions. How many days did each class serve at a time? And at what part of the year did the first class begin its office? If we divide the Jewish year into four and twenty equal parts, and suppose that each class served about fourteen days, and likewise suppose that the first class

class came into office at the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, or on the first of Nisan, the class of Abia, which was the eighth, was of course in office in the latter half of the fourth month. Both of these suppositions must have been made by our author; otherwise I do not see in what manner he can have come to this conclusion. But though no mention is made in 1 Chron. xxiv. of the duration of the office of each class, Josephus expressly declares, (*Antiq. Lib. VII. c. 14. § 7.*) that according to the institution of David, each class served only *one week* at a time: *διατάξει τε μιαν πατριαν διακονεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ ἡμέραις οὐκτώ, ἀπο σαββάτου ἐπὶ σαββάτου.* And a few lines afterwards he adds, that the arrangement made by David was still retained at that very day: *καὶ διέμελλεν ἕως οὗ ὁ μερισμὸς ἀχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας.* But if each of the four and twenty classes served only one week at a time, each of them must have served twice in the year. However certain therefore we might be as to the month, when the first class went into office, it must be wholly impossible to determine the month, in which Zacharias had the vision in the temple, because we have no data whatsoever, by which we can determine, whether his turn at that time was the first or the second in the year. All that we can affirm with certainty is, that it was either in the eighth or in the thirty-second week, but which of the two must remain undecided.

6. Toinard, in his *Harmony*, p. 2. has calculated the very day, and fixed it on the 31st of August. Mr. Mann, in his *Essay* entitled, ‘Of the true years of the birth and death of Christ, London, 1733, 8vo.’ has likewise calculated the day, on which Zacharias returned to his wife Elisabeth: but his calculation is very different, for he has fixed (p. 83.) on the 29th of December. That these calculations differ so widely from each other is not at all extraordinary, when we consider the uncertainty of the data. Dr. Körner therefore in a short treatise published at Leipzig in 1778, entitled, *De die natali Servatoris*, very properly concludes,

concludes, that all attempts to discover the real day, on which Christ was born, must be fruitless.

7. That John the Baptist was born in May, and consequently that Christ, who was nearly six months younger, (Luke i. 36.) was born about the month of October, is an assertion, the truth of which depends on our author's preceding calculation. But that this calculation is inaccurate has been already shewn in Note 5. Lardner allows a greater latitude, and says, 'it is not improbable that Jesus might be born some time between the middle of August and the middle of November.' Credibility, &c. P. I. B. ii. ch. 3. Vol. I. p. 533. ed. 1788.

8. The members of the Greek church fixed on the eighth of the Ides of January, that is, Jan. 6. for the celebration of Christ's birth, on which day they supposed, that he was born. Thus Epiphanius, Heref. LI. cap. 24. says, Γεννηθεῖς γὰρ αὐτὸς περὶ τὸν Ἰανουαρίον μηνά, τέλει προ οκτώ Εἰδων Ἰανουαρίων, κ.τ.λ. and cap. 27. ἀπο τῆς τῶν γενεθλίων αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας, τέλει ἐν Ἐπιφανίων, ἥτις τυγχάνει ἐκτὴ Ἰανουαρίου μηνῶ, κ.τ.λ. Here it may be observed that Epiphanius is not singular in calling the birth of Christ *Ἐπιφάνια*; for most of the Greek fathers used the term *Ἐπιφάνια* and *Θεοφάνια* to denote the birth of Christ, though Epiphania afterwards acquired a different sense. See the authorities quoted in Suiceri Thesaurus, Tom. I. p. 1198—2000. The members of the Latin church on the contrary fixed, not on the eighth of the *Ides*, but on the eighth of the *Kalends* of January, that is, on December 25, for the celebration of Christ's birth, because they believed that he was really born on that day, as Augustin says, (De Trinit. Lib. IV. cap. 5. T. VIII. p. 578. ed. Bened. Antwerp.) Natus traditur octavo Kalendas Januarias, and a few lines before, Octavo Kalendas Aprilis conceptus creditur. This belief appears to have been grounded on the following, though erroneous calculation. Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, who is represented by St. Luke, ch. i. 11. as being at the altar

altar of incense, when the angel appeared to him, was supposed to be high priest, and to have been offering incense in the *Sanctum sanctorum* on the great day of atonement, which was on the tenth day of the seventh month. See Leviticus xvi. 29—34. The seventh month or Tifri, corresponded partly to our September, partly to our October; and the tenth of Tifri was supposed, by the Latin church, to correspond to September 23. They imagined therefore that Zacharias returned to Elisabeth on September 24: and therefore the festival called *Conceptio Johannis Baptistæ* was fixed on September 24, at which day this festival is still noted in the calendars of the church of Rome. Accordingly the festival of John's birth was fixed on June 24, which is nine months later: and on this day we still celebrate the festival of John the Baptist. And as Christ was born about six months after John the Baptist, they fixed on March 25 for the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, and on December 25 for the birth of Christ, which is 12 days earlier than according to the calculation of the Greek church: a difference, which arose probably from no other cause, than a difference in adapting the tenth of Tifri to the Roman calendar.

Now if Augustin, as appears from the preceding quotation, and other members of the Latin church at the end of the fourth century believed that Christ was really born on December 25, we must conclude that it was this belief, which induced them to fix on December 25 for the celebration of Christ's birth: and that they did not fix on that day merely in imitation of the festival called *Nativitas* (or rather *Natalis*) *Inviæti*. Besides, the festival called *Natalis Inviæti* was not introduced into the Roman calendar before the year 351. In the *old* Roman calendar the Ides of June were sacred *Jovi Inviæto*: but neither on December 25, nor on any other day of the whole year was there a festival called *Natalis Inviæti*. The earliest calendar, in which this festival appears, is that which is printed in Grævii

Thefaurus Antiq. Rom. Tom. VIII. p. 97—102, under the title, *Kalendarium Romanum*, sub Imperatore Constantio, Imper. Constantini Magni filio, circa annum Christi cccliv compositum, et Valentino cuidam dedicatum. In this calendar, at the eighth of the Ides of January, is marked *Natalis Inviæti*: on which Lambecius in his *Notes to this calendar*, p. 112, says, ‘Per Natalem Inviæti significatur dies, quo Imperator *Constantius*, Vetracione VIII. Kal. Januar. A. C. 351. deposito, *Inviætus* appellatus est. Qua de re vide Idatii Fastos Consulares anno æræ Hispanicæ 389.’ But if the festival called *Natalis Inviæti* was not introduced into the Roman calendar before the year 351, it could not have given rise to the celebration of Christ’s birth on December 25, unless we take for granted that the Latin church did not fix on this day before the latter half of the fourth century. Now had this been the case, Augustin, who was born in the year 355, must have known both at what time this Christian festival was fixed at December 25 in the Latin church, and likewise the cause of its being fixed at that day. But if Augustin knew that the *Natalis Christi* was fixed at December 25, merely in imitation of the *Natalis Inviæti*, he could not have imagined that Christ was *really* born on that day. On the other hand, if the reason why December 25 was chosen for the celebration of Christ’s birth, was unknown to Augustin, and he imagined, as many persons do at present, that Christ was *really* born on December 25, merely because his birth was celebrated on that day, it necessarily follows, that December 25 was chosen before the age, in which Augustin himself lived, and consequently at a time, when the festival called *Natalis Inviæti* did not exist in the Roman calendar. Whether we suppose therefore that the day was chosen before, or whether we suppose that it was chosen after the middle of the fourth century, the inference will be the same. But there is hardly a doubt, that it was chosen before the middle of the fourth century; for Chrysostom, who was a
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contemporary of Augustin, is so far from representing the time of the celebration of Christ's birth in the Latin church as lately introduced, that on the contrary he says in his Homily 'De Natali Christi,' that the day of Christ's birth was known in the Western or Latin church from the very beginning (*παρὰ μὲν τοῖς τὴν Ἑσπεραν οἰκῶσιν ἀνωθεν γνωριζομένη*): for which reason he preferred the day adopted by the Latin church to that which was adopted by the Greek church, and supposed that Jan. 6. was not the day, on which Christ was born, but the day, on which he was baptized in the Jordan by John the Baptist. See the passages quoted in Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, B. XX. ch. iv. sect. 2. and Suiceri *Thesaurus*, Tom. I. p. 1200, 1201. The notion therefore that the festival called *Natalis Inviæti* gave rise to the celebration of Christ's birth on December 25, is devoid of foundation. It is moreover a modern opinion, for none of the ancient fathers have given the least hint of it. It was first hazarded as a conjecture by John, metropolitan of Nicæa, (who is supposed to have lived about the tenth century) in his treatise, 'De Nativitate Domini,' published by Combefis in the second Volume of his *Auctarium bibliothecæ Patrum Græcorum*: in the last century it was revived and defended by Hardouin and Petau; and in the present century it was brought into more general circulation, principally by a dissertation published by professor Hamberger at Gottingen in 1751, entitled, 'Ritus, quos Romana ecclesia a majoribus suis gentilibus in sua sacra transtulit.' Much ingenuity has certainly been displayed in support of this opinion: *Natalis Inviæti* has been taken in the sense of *Natalis Solis Inviæti*, because December 25, is about the time of the winter solstice, when the days begin to lengthen, and the sun, as it were, receives a new birth: and as Christ was called the Sun of Righteousness, the analogy between the birth of the Sun and the birth of Christ has been supposed to have presented itself to the primitive Christians. No man has dressed

this notion in more fanciful array than Dupuis in his *Origine de tous les Cultes*, Tom. V. p. 114—139, the object of which work is to derive all religions from the twelve signs of the zodiac. But *Natalis Inviæti*, at its first introduction into the Roman calendar in the year 351, was so far from denoting the birth of the invincible sun, that it denoted figuratively the birth of the invincible Constantius son of Constantine the Great, as appears from the Note of Lambecius already quoted. Consequently even if it be true, that the term was afterwards applied to the sun, though the epithet ‘*invictus*,’ which is given to heroes, and to Jupiter and Mars among the Gods, is not very suitable to Phœbus or Apollo, yet no inference can be drawn from an application of the Roman calendar made at a time, when the Latin church had already determined the day of the celebration of Christ’s birth.

PAGE 38.

9. St. John says, First in ch. ii. 13. *Και εγγυς ην το πασχα των Ιουδαιων, και ανεβη εις Ιεροσολυμα ο Ιησους*: Secondly, in ch. v. 1. *μετα ταυτα ην εορτη των Ιουδαιων, και ανεβη ο Ιησους εις Ιεροσολυμα*: Thirdly in ch. vi. 4. *ην δε εγγυς το πασχα, η εορτη των Ιουδαιων*: Fourthly in ch. xi. 55. *ην δε εγγυς το πασχα των Ιουδαιων*. On these four passages is grounded the opinion that between the baptism and death of Christ four different passovers intervened, and consequently that Christ’s ministry lasted something more than three years. Hence all that St. John relates before ch. ii. 13. is supposed to have happened before the first passover: all that he relates between ch. ii. 13. and ch. v. 1. is supposed to have happened either at, or after the first, and before the second passover: all that he relates between ch. v. 1. and ch. vi. 4. is supposed to have happened either at or after the second, and before the third passover: and all that he relates after ch. vi. 4. is supposed to have happened partly about the time of the third passover, and

and partly in the year, which elapsed between the third and the last passover: for the passover mentioned ch. xi. 55. is that at which Christ was crucified.

On the other hand, not one of the three Evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, has taken notice of any passover between the baptism of Christ, and the passover at which he suffered. Neither the word *πασχα*, nor even the word *εορτή*, which might be construed into *πασχα*, occur in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark before the description of the passover, at which Christ was crucified: and in the Gospel of St. Luke likewise neither of these words occurs before ch. xxii. except in ch. ii. 41, 42. which however relates, not to any part of Christ's ministry, but to the passover, which he attended with Joseph and Mary, when he was only twelve years of age. Further, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, from the place, where they describe Christ's return to Galilee after his baptism (Matth. iv. 12. Mark i. 14. Luke iv. 14.) to the end of their Gospels, make no mention whatsoever of any journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, except the journey which Christ took to celebrate the passover, at which he was crucified. If therefore we had no other Gospels, than those of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, we should conclude, that no passover intervened between the baptism of Christ and the passover at which he suffered. The ancients likewise were decidedly of opinion, that all the transactions relative to Christ's ministry, which are recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, and St. Luke, happened within the space of *one year*. Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 24.) speaking of St. John's Gospel, says, *τῆς ἀλλῆς γὰρ τρεῖς Εὐαγγελιστὰς συνιδεῖν παρέσι, μόνον τὰ μέλα τὴν ἐν τῷ δεσμώτηριῳ Ἰωάννη τὴν Βαπτίσαν καθειρξίν' ἐφ' ἑνα ἐνιαυτὸν πεπραγμένα τῷ σῶτηρι συγγεγραφότας.* And Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers (Tom. IV. P. II. p. 105. ed. Martianay) speaking of St. John, says, '*Aliam causam hujus scripturæ ferunt: quod, quum legisset Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ, volumina,* proba-

probaverit quidem textum historiæ, et vera eos dixisse firmaverit, *sed unius tantum anni, in quo et passus est*, post carcerem Johannis, historiam texuisse.

To reconcile this apparent difference between the duration of Christ's ministry, as represented by St. John on the one hand, and by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke on the other, the ancients (namely, they who perceived the difference, for all of them did not) had recourse to the following explanation. St. Matthew in ch. iv. 12. and St. Mark in ch. i. 14. where they relate Christ's return to Galilee after his baptism, say at the same time, that John the Baptist, before Christ's return, was cast into prison, which was probably the reason, why Christ quitted the eastern bank of the Jordan, and the vicinity of Machærus, the fortress in which John was imprisoned by order of Herod, as Herod himself was then in that neighbourhood with his army. St. Luke also, though not in chap. iv. 14. yet in chap. iii. 19. mentions John's imprisonment. It is true, that not one of these three Evangelists has mentioned any thing relative to Christ between his Baptism and his return to Galilee (Matth. iv. 12. Mark i. 14. Luke iv. 14.) except his temptation. But John the Evangelist has recorded many transactions of Christ which took place after his baptism, and before John the Baptist was imprisoned: for he expressly says; in ch. iii. 24. *εγω γαρ ην βεβλημενον εἰς την φυλακην ο Ιωαννης*, and in ch. iv. 1. he likewise speaks of John the Baptist as still baptizing. Consequently all the transactions of Christ, which are recorded in St. John's Gospel between ch. i. 29. and ch. iv. 1. are represented as having taken place in the interval, which elapsed between Christ's baptism, and the imprisonment of John the Baptist: and during this interval the first passover must have taken place, for the first passover is mentioned in ch. ii. 13. Further, the passover, which preceded that, at which Christ was crucified, is mentioned in ch. vi. 4.: and therefore all the transactions, which St. John has related after *this* passover,

passover, that is, from ch. vii. 1. to the end of his Gospel, are represented as having taken place in the last year of Christ's life. And since he has no where related the imprisonment of John the Baptist, his Gospel presents no obstacles to the supposition, not only that all the events recorded before ch. iv. 1. but that all the events likewise which are recorded before ch. vii. 1. happened before the imprisonment of John the Baptist. But St. Matthew, ch. iv. 12. St. Mark, ch. i. 14. and St. Luke, ch. iv. 14. *begin* their account of Christ's miracles *after* John the Baptist's imprisonment, as these three Evangelists themselves expressly declare. The six first chapters therefore of St. John's Gospel may be considered as relating to a period of Christ's ministry, which preceded that, with which St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke *began* their account of Christ's miracles: and it is in these six chapters that all the passovers are mentioned except the last. In this manner the ancients appear to have reasoned, and thus they reconciled the duration of Christ's ministry as represented by St. John on the one hand, and by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke on the other, by supposing that St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke recorded only the transactions of the last year, but that St. John recorded the transactions of the preceding part of Christ's ministry. Eusebius, a few lines after the passage above quoted, says, *εκεν ο μιν Ιωαννης τη τε κατ' αυτον ευαγγελισ γραφη τα μηδεπω τε βαπτισα εις φυλακην βεβλημενε πρὸς τε Χριστῃ πραχθεισα παραδιδωσιν· οι δε λοιποι τρεις Ευαγγελισαι τα μελα την εις το δεσμωτηριον καθειρξιν τε βαπτισα μνημονευουσι.* And Jerom, immediately after the passage above quoted, adds: *Prætermisso itaque anno, cujus acta a tribus exposita fuerant, superioris temporis antequam Johannes clauderetur in carcerem, gesta narravit, sicut manifestum esse poterit his, qui diligenter quatuor Evangeliorum volumina legerint. Quæ res etiam διαφωνιαν, quæ videtur Joannis esse cum, cæteris, tollit.*

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But the modern harmonists have adopted very different principles, and have interwoven the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke with that of St. John from the beginning to the end of it. In general they have accommodated the transactions recorded by the three former to the feasts of the passover mentioned in the latter: and have inserted in their harmonies some of the transactions before the first passover, others between the first and the second passover, and so on, according as in the opinion of each harmonist, these or those transactions belonged to this or that period of Christ's ministry. Different harmonists however not only make different insertions in the same interval, but differ likewise in respect to the intervals themselves. The common opinion is, that St. John has mentioned *four* different passovers, namely, in ch. ii. 13. v. 1. vi. 14. and xi. 55. as already stated at the beginning of this note, and consequently that Christ's ministry lasted between three and four years. But in ch. v. 1. St. John has not used the term *πασχα*, though he has used it in the three other places. for he says only in general terms *εορτή των Ισδαίων*: and though *εορτή* is here commonly understood as denoting the grand festival, or the passover, yet some commentators, and not without reason, call this interpretation in question, and suppose that *εορτή* here denotes some other festival, since, if it denoted the passover, the short compass of ch. v. 1.—vi. 4. must have included a whole year. It is true that several Greek MSS. (but not the common printed text) have *η εορτή* with the article, as if the grand festival of the passover was meant *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*: but Griesbach in his note to John v. 1. says that the quotation of Origen exactly agrees with our common text, which is a strong argument in favour of its authenticity. The article is likewise omitted in the Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Vaticanus, Codex Bezae, and many other, indeed most of the Greek MSS. Some few harmonists therefore, in the number of whom is Bengel, assume only three passovers. Others again,

again, of whom Macknight is one, instead of diminishing, have augmented the number to five, the reason of which I have not been able to discover, unless the term *εορτη*, used in John vii. 2. though St. John has expressly explained it by *σκηνοπηγια*, gave rise to the conjecture. As these harmonists, whether they assume three, four, or five passovers accommodate the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke to that of St. John, and extend the transactions of Christ's ministry recorded by the three first Evangelists to nearly two, or to nearly three, or to nearly four years, according to the number of passovers, which they supposed to be mentioned in St. John's Gospel, so there are other harmonists, who accommodate the Gospel of St. John to those of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, and adopting the opinion of the ancients, that our three first Gospels contain the transactions of only one year, endeavour, as Dr. Priestley has done in his 'Harmony of the Evangelists,' to confine that of St. John within the same compass. To effect this purpose, they find it necessary to reduce the passovers mentioned in St. John's Gospel to two. We have already seen, that St. John himself has expressly mentioned only three: consequently the passover, which is really mentioned by name in ch. vi. 4. presents the only obstacle to the opinion, that no more than two passovers occur in St. John's Gospel, the one in ch. ii. 13. which happened soon after Christ's baptism, the other in ch. xi. 55. which was the passover at which Christ was crucified. This obstacle however is not an immaterial one: for St. John expressly says in ch. vi. 4. *νυ δε εγγυς το πασχα, η εορτη των Ιουδαιων*, and the word *πασχα* is omitted in no Greek manuscript now extant, and in no ancient version. But Gerard Vossius, in the second dissertation of his work, entitled 'Dissertatio gemina: una de Jesu Christi genealogia: altera, de annis, quibus natus, baptizatus, mortuus, published at Amsterdam in 1643, conjectured that *πασχα* was an interpolation, and that *εορτη* was used by St. John in
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ch. vi. 4. as well as in ch. v. 1. to denote, not the passover, but some other Jewish festival. The same conjecture is made by Mr. Mann, in his ‘True years of the birth and death of Christ,’ p. 161. and by Dr. Priestley in his ‘Observations on the Harmony of the Evangelists,’ p. 43. Bishop Pearce supposes that the whole verse is an interpolation: for in his note to John vi. 4. in his Commentary on the four Evangelists, he says, ‘There does not seem to be any reason for the Evangelist’s inserting this verse, nothing in this chapter having any relation to the feast of the passover or to any other of the Jewish feasts. G. J. Vossius, and Mr. Mann are of opinion that the word *πασχα* is an interpolation: and I think *that the whole verse is so*, because in ch. v. 1. mention is made of a feast, (probably the feast of Pentecost), and in ch. vii. 2. of the feast of tabernacles, between which two no feasts appointed by the law of Moses intervened.’ By this argument Bishop Pearce has really given great weight to *his* conjecture: and if any conjecture is here allowable, which I must leave undetermined, it is certainly preferable to the conjecture, that *πασχα* alone is an interpolation. Besides the omission of ver. 4. does no injury to the connexion: for ver. 3. and 5. are as well connected with each other, as ver. 4. is with either of them.

On these points rests the grand question, which has given rise to so much controversy, the ‘Duration of Christ’s ministry.’ An examination of all the arguments, which various writers have used in support of their respective opinions, would require a volume for this article alone: and therefore I can only mention the various opinions, which have prevailed on this subject, with the principal authors, who have written on it. During the three first centuries the common opinion was, that Christ’s ministry lasted only one year, or at the outside a year and a few months. Clement of Alexandria expressly confines it to one year, which he calls the acceptable year of the Lord, described by
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the prophet (Isaiah lxi. 2.) and in the Gospel. His words are, *Ἦν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὡς ἔτων λ' καὶ ὅτι ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον ἔδει αὐτὸν κηρυῖν, καὶ τὸ γεγραπταὶ ἔτως· Ἐνιαυτὸν δεκτὸν Κυρίῳ κηρυῖν ἀπέσειλεν με· τὸ καὶ ὁ προφήτης εἶπεν, καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον.* Stromat. Lib. I. p. 407. ed. Potter. According to Origen, Christ's ministry lasted a year and a few months, for he says, *ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ πρὶν, καὶ μηνᾶς ὀλίγας, ἐδίδαξεν.* De Principiis, Lib. IV. cap. 5, Tom. I. p. 160. ed. Debarue. Tertullian says, (adv. Judæos, cap. 8.) 'Hujus quinto-decimo anno imperii passus est Christus, annos habens quasi triginta cum pateretur.' Consequently Tertullian supposed that Christ's ministry did not exceed one year. Julius Africanus and Lactantius were likewise of the same opinion. Irenæus indeed, who lived in the second century, makes an exception to the rule: but his opinion on this subject was so absurd, that it is hardly worth mentioning. For in zeal against the Gnostics, who as well as the fathers of the three first centuries, believed that Christ's ministry lasted about a year, he goes so far as to extend it to nearly *twenty years*: in proof of which he appeals to John viii. 57. where certain Jews say to Christ, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?' Hence Irenæus argues, that Christ was really not far from fifty at that time, and consequently that nearly twenty years had elapsed from the time of his baptism. Irenæus adv. Hæreses, Lib. II. cap. 22. § 6, p. 148. ed. Massuet. Further, in the second epistle ascribed to Clement of Rome, a writer of the first century, Christ's ministry is extended to more than a year, and fixed, agreeably to the opinion, which now prevails at three years: but all critics are at present agreed that the second Epistle, ascribed to Clement of Rome, is a forgery of a later age: consequently it exhibits not the common opinion of the first century, but the opinion, which prevailed at the time, when the epistle was fabricated. The earliest genuine work now extant, in which Christ's ministry is extended to three,

or

or even to two years, in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, who lived in the former part of the fourth century. We have already seen that in the opinion of Eusebius the transactions of Christ's ministry recorded by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, were confined within the compass of *one* year: yet he supposed that the *whole* ministry, namely, the whole time, which elapsed from the baptism to the death of Christ, lasted more than three, but not quite four years. His words are, *ὅλος ὁ μεταξὺ τετραετίας παριστάται χρόνος*. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. 9. This inference he deduces from what is said in Luke iii. 2. that Annas and Caiaphas were High Priests, when John the Baptist began to preach, and from what is said in Matth. xxvi. 3. John xviii. 24. that Caiaphas was High Priest when Christ was crucified, compared with the accounts of Josephus relative to the succession of High Priests at that time: an inference however, which the premises assumed by Eusebius do not warrant, as appears from the Notes of Valesius to this chapter. Eusebius further adds, that his calculation does not disagree with the accounts of the Gospel, by which he must mean the Gospel of St. John, in reference to the passovers, which are there mentioned. Jerom, who wrote in the latter part of the fourth century, and, as well as Eusebius, was of opinion, that St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, recorded the transactions of only one year of Christ's ministry, believed also with Eusebius that the whole ministry lasted more than one year, as may be inferred from the passage above quoted, 'prætermisso itaque anno, cujus acta a tribus exposita fuerant, superioris temporis,' &c. But the indefinite term 'superius tempus' leaves it undecided, whether Jerom believed that Christ's ministry lasted three, or only two years. In fact, Jerom appears to have had no determinate opinion on this subject, for in another place (Comment. in Isaiam. ch. lxi. Tom. III. p. 456. ed. Martianay) commenting on 'the acceptable year of the Lord,' Isaiah lxi. 2. he speaks as if the whole ministry

ministry of Christ was confined to one year. *Annum autem acceptabilem et diem retributionis omne prædicationis ejus, quo in carne versatus est, tempus intellige.* Epiphanius, a contemporary of Jerom says, (*Hæres. LI. cap. 23.*) that Christ was crucified in his thirty-third year, *εν τῷ τριακῶσῳ τρίτῳ ετει της αὐτῆς ενσαρκώσεως*: and adds, *καὶ μόνον δύο χρονῶν περιόδος Πασχῶν εν τοῖς ευαγγελίοις εμφερεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριῶν.* Consequently in the opinion of Epiphanius, Christ's ministry lasted more than two but not full three years: for since Christ was thirty years of age, when he began to preach, (*Luke iii. 23.*) as Epiphanius himself observes, he could not have preached full three years, if he was crucified in his thirty-third year. This likewise agrees with what Epiphanius says of the three passovers mentioned in the Gospels (that is, in the Gospel of John): for three passovers include the space of two years, which added to the months, which elapsed between Christ's Baptism and the First Passover, make up the period of time which Epiphanius assigned to Christ's ministry. But that it lasted even so long, was not the general opinion at the end of the fourth century, or Epiphanius would not have thought it necessary to deny, that it was confined within the compass of two passovers, *δύο χρονῶν περιόδος Πασχῶν.* The opinion of Eusebius, that it lasted between three and four years, prevailed at last over all other opinions on this subject, though Augustin, whose name alone was of great authority, still retained the ancient opinion. During the middle ages no further inquiries appear to have been made on this subject: and even after the Reformation all the Harmonists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have taken for granted, that Christ's ministry lasted between three and four years. But Bengel, in his *Harmony of the Gospels* published at Tübingen in 1736, reduced it to two years. And a short time before this *Harmony* was published, Mr. Mann revived the ancient opinion, that it lasted one year, which he has defended with great learning and ingenuity, p. 145—165. of

the Dissertation quoted above in Note 6.: and p. 166—177. he has given a chronological synopsis of the four Gospels, formed on this opinion. Dr. Priestley in his ‘Harmony of the Evangelists in Greek,’ printed in 1777, has likewise adopted the ancient opinion, which he has defended in his Observations, p. 38—43. But in his mode of combining St. John’s Gospel with the other three he differs from Mr. Mann, as every one will immediately perceive, who compares the Harmony of the former with the Synopsis of the latter. They differ indeed in a material point: for Matth. iv. 12. Mark i. 14. Luke iv. 14. where the three first Evangelists begin their account of Christ’s miracles, are placed by Mr. Mann *before*, but by Dr. Priestley *after* John ii. 13. where the first passover is mentioned. In 1778, Archbishop Newcome published his Harmony of the Gospels, and in the Notes annexed to it, especially p. 15, &c. defended the common opinion, in respect to the duration of Christ’s ministry. In 1779, Dr. Priestley replied in a Letter, prefixed to his ‘Harmony of the Gospels in English:’ which was answered by Archbishop Newcome in the year following in an essay, ‘On the Duration of Christ’s ministry, in reply to Dr. Priestley,’ who soon after published another defence of his opinion in his ‘Two Letters to Dr. Newcome, Bishop of Waterford, on the duration of our Saviour’s ministry.’ In 1779, Dr. Körner published at Leipzig a short treatise entitled, *Quot Paschata Christus post baptismum celebraverit*: and in 1796, Dr. Hänlein published at Erlangen a short treatise entitled, *De temporis, quo Jesus Christus cum Apostolis versatus est duratione*. He asserts, p. 12. *si computum facimus totius temporis, quo arcta familiaritate apostoli cum Jesu conjuncti fuerunt, eumque docentem audire, loco triennii, vix unius anni spatium colligi posse videtur*.

Without attempting to decide on so difficult a question, I will only observe, that, as far as I am able to judge, the Gospel of St. John presents almost insuperable obstacles to the opinion of those, who confine Christ’s

Christ's ministry to one year: for in order to effect this purpose, it is necessary to make omissions and transpositions in St. John's Gospel, which are not warranted a priori by the laws of criticism, but are attempted merely to support a previously assumed hypothesis. On the other hand, the opinion that it lasted three years, which receives no support whatsoever from the three first Gospels, cannot be satisfactorily proved even from the Gospel of St. John, who at the utmost has noticed only three different passovers; at least he has *named* no more.

PAGE 40.

10. The following Table considered as a General Index to the four Gospels is a very useful one. Our author himself expressly declares, that it must not be considered as a chronological table: yet from the transpositions, which he has made, not only in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but likewise in the Gospel of St. Matthew, as in N°. 29—42. it is obvious that he intended to arrange the facts in chronological order, as well as he was able. For the facts which occur in N°. 29—42. are recorded only by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke: and therefore the formation of a mere index did not require that the order of all three should be inverted. The reasons of each particular transposition our author has not assigned, and indeed the propriety of some of them might be called in question: but as almost every harmonist has a mode of arrangement peculiar to himself, and that, which is adopted in the following table, is liable perhaps to fewer objections, than that which is adopted in most other harmonies, I leave it to the reader's own judgment to determine on the propriety of each single article.

The duration of Christ's ministry is a question, which our author passes over in total silence. That in his opinion it lasted more years than one, may be inferred from what he says of Luke ix. 51.—xviii. 14.

a few lines before his Harmonic Table. But he leaves it undetermined, whether it lasted between two and three, or between three and four years: for in N°. 52. he calls the festival (*εορτη*) mentioned in John v. 1. merely ‘*a great festival*,’ not the feast of the passover in particular, as all those harmonists do, who contend that four different passovers are mentioned in St. John’s Gospel, and consequently that Christ’s ministry lasted more than three years. However, in his Annotations on the New Testament he says at John v. 1. that, though it is a matter of doubt, whether *εορτη* here means the feast of the passover, or some other feast, he prefers the interpretation of those, who take it in the former sense.

SECT. VIII.

PAGE 84.

1. Our author retains the commonly received opinion that all the precepts recorded in the three chapters, Matth. v. vi. vii. were delivered by Christ at one and the same time, or in other words, that Christ delivered a sermon on the mount in the same form, and in the same extent, as that which is recorded by St. Matthew in these three chapters. But many critics are at present of opinion, that these precepts were delivered by Christ at different times, and on different occasions, but that St. Matthew collected them and placed them together in order to give a comprehensive view of Christ’s moral doctrines. This opinion has been very ably supported by Professor Pott in a dissertation published at Helmstädt in 1788, entitled *De natura atque indole orationis montanæ et de nonnullis hujus orationis explicandæ præceptis*: and by Professor Wunibald at Heidelberg in 1794, in his *Commentatio biblica in sermonem Christi in monte, Matth. v. vi. vii.* More will be said on this subject in the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels.

2. By

2. By the sermon in parables our author means the collection of parables in Matth. xiii. 1—53., which are recorded by St. Matthew as delivered by Christ at one and the same time. Some critics suppose that these parables also were not all delivered at the same time.

3. I know not by what means our author has discovered that the discourse delivered by Christ in the synagogue at Capernaum was of the same import as the sermon on the mount, since that discourse is not on record. For St. Matthew says nothing of it: and St. Mark, ch. i. 21, 22. and St. Luke, ch. iv. 31, 32. say nothing more, than that Christ taught in the synagogue, and that the people were astonished at his doctrine, since he taught as one having authority. It is true that St. Matthew, at the end of the sermon on the mount, ch. vii. 28. says likewise ‘that the people were astonished, &c.’ But we cannot therefore conclude that the two discourses were of the same import.

PAGE 86.

4. The arguments for the opinion that N°. 25—30. contain the history of only one day may be stated thus. N°. 27. is the sermon on the mount, Matth. v. vi. vii. N°. 28, 29, 30. the cure of the leper, of the centurion’s servant, of Peter’s mother in law, with other sick persons at Capernaum, are related by St. Matthew in ch. viii. 1—17. as events which took place on the same day, on which the sermon on the mount was delivered. Further, the cure of the demoniac at Capernaum, N°. 25, which however is not mentioned by St. Matthew, took place according to Mark i. 29, 30. Luke iv. 38. on the same day as the cure of St. Peter’s mother in law, N°. 30. Lastly, Christ’s choice of the twelve Apostles, N°. 26. which is likewise not mentioned by St. Matthew, immediately preceded the sermon on the mount, according to Luke vi. 12—49. Consequently, all the events in N°. 25—30. happened on the same day. This is the

dearest method of stating the arguments in favour of our author's opinion. They are liable however to some objections. In the first place, according to St. Mark and St. Luke, the cure of St. Peter's mother in law, N°. 30, succeeded the cure of the demoniac in the synagogue at Capernaum, without the intervention of any event whatsoever. For St. Mark says, ch. i. 29. *Και ευθεως εκ της συναγωγης εξελθοντες ηλθον εις την οικιαν Σιμωνος*, and St. Luke, ch. iv. 38. *αναστας δε εκ της συναγωγης εισηλθεν εις την οικιαν Σιμωνος*. Further, the cure of the leper, N°. 28, took place according to St. Mark and St. Luke on a later day: for St. Mark after having related the cure of St. Peter's mother in law, ch. i. 29—31, adds, ver. 32. *οψιας δε γενομενης, οτε εδυ ο ηλιος*, and ver. 35. *και πρωι ενυυχον λιαν αναστας εξηλθε*. St. Luke also, after having related the cure of St. Peter's mother in law, ch. iv. 39, adds, ver. 40. *δυνουτος δε τη ηλιε*, and ver. 42. *γενομενης δε ημερας*. What follows therefore is represented as having happened after the day on which the demoniac and St. Peter's mother in law were cured. Now the cure of the leper is related, by St. Mark in ch. i. 45—50. and by St. Luke in ch. v. 12—16. And N°. 26, 27, 29, are represented by St. Luke as having taken place at a still later time; for they are recorded in ch. vi. 12—49. vii. 1—10. N°. 27, 29, are not recorded by St. Mark; but in N°. 26, which he has recorded, he agrees with St. Luke in referring it to a later day; for he has it in ch. iii. 13—19. It appears there that, according to St. Luke's representation N°. 25, and 30, happened not only on the same day, but without the intervention of any other miracle or event whatsoever: that N°. 26, 27, 28, 29, which our author has inserted as intermediate events, happened according to St. Luke at a later time: and that St. Mark's representation, in as much as he has recorded, agrees with that of St. Luke. St. Matthew on the contrary represents N°. 27, 28, 29, 30, as immediately following each other. Now as St. Matthew was not only an Apostle, but lived at Capernaum,

Capernaum, where the events in question took place, and was probably present at the sermon on the mount, and thence followed Christ into Capernaum, his representation is justly preferred by our author, who says of the cure of the leper, N°. 28. that St. Mark and St. Luke 'were unacquainted with the time, and St. Luke even with the place, in which it happened.' It may be admitted then, on the authority of St. Matthew, that the events related in N°. 27—30. happened on the same day. But the question is: Ought we to refer N°. 25. and 26. likewise to the same day? On these two articles St. Matthew is totally silent, and therefore we have the authority only of St. Mark and St. Luke. But though St. Mark and St. Luke refer N°. 25 to the same day as they refer N°. 30, yet they both agree in referring N°. 26 to a later day. We have no authority whatsoever therefore for referring N°. 26 to the day assigned by our author: and, even if we refer N°. 25 to that day, it ought not to occupy the place which he has allotted to it, but should immediately precede N°. 30, for the reason already assigned. On the other hand, if we refer N°. 26 to that day, we must necessarily refer N°. 25 to an earlier day; for on these two articles St. Mark and St. Luke are our only guides, and they both agree in making a very distinct and circumstantial separation of them.

PAGE 87.

5. Nain was about twelve stadia from mount Thabor. See Relandi *Palæstina* (Traject. Batav. 1714, 4to.) p. 904.

6. If we separate N°. 35, we must likewise separate N°. 36; for the latter is a continuation of the discourse delivered in the former. St. Luke has the one in ch. xi. 14—36. the other in ch. xi. 37.—xii. 12.

7. That Christ was invited to dinner by a Pharisee on the same day on which he cast out a devil appears from Luke xi. 14. 37. It is likewise true, that St. Mark in ch. iii. 20. to which our author appeals, says,

the multitude, which furrounded Christ was so great, that he was prevented even from eating bread. But that this prevention had taken place on the day on which the Pharisee afterwards invited Christ to dinner, is at least a matter of doubt. For St. Mark says in ch. iii. 13, 14. *Και αναβαίνει εις το ὄρη, και προσκαλεῖται οὓς ἠθέληεν αὐτός· και ἀπηλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν· και ἐποίησε δώδεκα, κ. τ. λ.* He then enumerates the twelve Apostles, ver. 17—19. and immediately adds ver. 20, 21. *και ἐρχοῦνται εἰς οἶκον· και συνερχέται πάλιν ὄχλος, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς μήτε ἄρτον φαγεῖν· και ἀκυσταῖς οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξηλθὼν κραῖνσαι αὐτὸν, ἐλεγον γὰρ, οἱ ἐξέστη.* St. Mark then proceeds in ver. 22. *Και οἱ Γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων κατὰβαίνουσιν ἐλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβὺλ ἐχει,* and in ver. 23—31. relates Christ's confutation of this opinion, which St. Matthew has related in ch. xii. 22—30. and St. Luke in ch. xi. 14—23. who likewise mention the occasion of this discourse, namely, that Christ had cast out a devil, which St. Mark has not mentioned. One might conclude therefore from St. Mark's account, that Christ was prevented from acting by the thronging of the multitude immediately after his return to his house at Capernaum, on the day on which he had chosen his apostles: that ver. 20, 21. to which neither St. Matthew nor St. Luke have any thing which corresponds, are connected with the preceding verses: and that ver. 22—31. which relate to a new subject, are the only verses which correspond to Matth. xii. 22—30. Luke xi. 14—23. But our author, like many other harmonists, separates Mark iii. 20, 21. from the preceding verses, and joins them to the following, and thus makes the prevention in question take place on the day, on which Christ cast out a devil, and confuted the opinion, that he cast out devils by Beelzebub.

8. Even if our author is right in his application of Mark iii. 20. the inference, which he here deduces, is without foundation. For that Christ was so engaged on one day that he had not time to eat, cannot excite

excite even a conjecture that he was so engaged the day before.

9. The ancient Greeks used *αρισον* to denote an early breakfast, which they took at sun-rise, for Athenæus says, (Lib. I. Cap. 5. Pag. 11. ed. Casaubon 1698, fol.) *αρισον μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω λαμβανόμενον*: and they used *δειπνον* to denote the meal, which they took at noon. *Αρισον* therefore was the breakfast of the ancient Greeks, and *δειπνον* their dinner. But as the hours of eating generally become later and later in proportion as luxury increases, the *αρισον* was in later ages taken at noon, the ancient time of the *δειπνον*, in the same manner as ladies of fashion in London sit down to breakfast at the time when their ancestors sat down to dinner: for Athenæus, who lived in the second century, immediately adds, *δειπνον δὲ μεσημβρινον, οἱ ἡμεῖς αρισον, κ. τ. λ.* Such was the use of *αρισον* among the Greeks. But as it was adopted by the Jews and written *אַרְסָתוֹן*, or *אַרְסָטוֹן*, we must explain *αρισηση*, Luke xi. 37. from the Jewish, not the Greek usage. Now the Jews applied it to denote not an early, but a late meal: for Buxtorf (Lex. Talm. p. 227.) quotes the following passage *לרמשא עבד לון ארסתון*, *vesperi fecit illis αρισον*. Even in the Septuagint it is used to denote a late meal, as appears from 2 Sam. xxiv. 15. *ἔδωκε κυρίῳ Σανάλων ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἀπο πρωθεν ἕως ὥρας αρις*.

10. All these discourses and parables might be delivered in less than an hour, and therefore there is no necessity for supposing that the meal, to which the Pharisee invited Christ, was given so early as ten in the morning, in order to allow time for their delivery. Besides, if we fix on so early an hour, we shall hardly allow sufficient time for the events, which, in our author's opinion, had already taken place on that day.

11. This interpretation of *σαββαλον δευτεροπρωτον* is peculiar to our author. He was led to it perhaps from the use of the word *deuterocanonicus*; and as the term 'liber deuterocanonicus' is used to denote 'a book

book inserted in the canon, though its claim is doubtful,' so he supposes that σαββατον δευτεροπρωτον was used by St. Luke to denote that part of Friday before sun set, which scrupulous Jews annexed to the sabbath, though in reality no part of it; for even at this day the strict Jews abstain from work and all payments of money after three o'clock on Friday afternoon. Now if σαββατον πρωτον had been ever used to express the main or primary sabbath, that is, the time which elapsed from Friday at sun set to Saturday at sun-set, the supposition that σαββατον δευτεροπρωτον denotes the secondary or accessory part of it might be admitted. But as σαββατον πρωτον is never used in this sense, our author's conjecture is destitute of support. Scaliger's interpretation is 'primum sabbatum post secundum diem Paschatos,' Wetstein's 'primum sabbatum mensis secundi,' which is approved by Storr, who in his 'Design of the Evangelic History and Epistles of John *,' p. 315. analyses the expression thus, σαββατον πρωτον τα δευτερα μηνος. Dodwell says, that as there were three grand festivals in the Jewish year, the Passover, the feast of Pentecost, and the feast of Tabernacles, the first may be denoted by πρωτοπρωτῶ, the second by δευτεροπρωτῶ, the third by τριτοπρωτῶ. Various other interpretations of this expression, which occurs no where except in Luke vi. 1. may be seen in Poli Synopsis, and Wolfii Curæ.

12. This interpretation, which is likewise peculiar to our author, is absolutely inadmissible, for no Greek writer ever used ετερῶ in the sense, which he has ascribed to it. If St. Luke had intended to express the sabbath itself, in opposition to what the Jews annexed to it, he would have used το σαββατον: or, if he intended to divide the whole into two parts, he would have used, not ετερῶ but λοιπῶ, and have written, not ετερον σαββατον, but το λοιπον τα σαββατα. Whatever may be

* The German title of this work is, Ueber den Zweck der evangelischen Geschichte und der Briefe Johannis. Tübingen. 1786, 8vo.

be the meaning therefore of σαββατον δευτεροπρωτον, Luke vi. 1. we must necessarily understand σαββατον ετερον of a totally different sabbath. St. Matthew likewise, though he has not noted a difference of time, has clearly noted a difference of place, for he says, ch. xii. 9. και μεταβας εκειθεν ηλθε, κ. τ. λ. Consequently our author's opinion, that all the events in N°. 33—37. took place within the compass of four and twenty hours, on which a doubt has been already expressed in Note 9, is a mistaken one.

PAGE 89.

13. I here retain Beelzebub, as our author has written it, which is in fact the proper orthography, for all the Greek manuscripts without exception have Βεελζεβυλ with λ not with β. The English and other modern translations have Beelzebub with a *b*, for no other reason than because the word is so written in the Latin Vulgate, to which the translators in many instances paid more regard than to the original. But the most ancient Latin MSS. for instance the Latin of the Codex Bezae, have Beelzebul.

PAGE 90.

14. Our author here speaks in reference to the day of the sermon in parables, which he ought to have expressed. But according to Mark iv. 35. to which he appeals, Christ put to sea on the evening of that very day (εν εκεινη τη ημερα οψιας γενομενης), on which he had delivered the parables. In Luke viii. 22. to which our author likewise appeals, there is no determination of time whatsoever: for St. Luke says merely εν μια των ημερων.

PAGE 91.

15. Rather on the evening of that very day on which the sermon on the mount was delivered. For in ch. viii. 1. St. Matthew relates Christ's descent from the mount, ver. 5. his entrance into Capernaum, ver. 16. he says, οψιας δε γενομενης, and in ver. 18. adds,

ιδωθ

ιδων δε ο Ιησους πολλους οχλους περι αυτον, εκελευσεν απελθειν εις το πτερον.

PAGE 92.

16. St. Luke is so far from having determined the time, that he virtually confesses, by the indeterminate expression *εν μια των ημερων*, that he himself did not know the time. We have not therefore a majority of evidence in favour of the opinion, that the storm in question happened after the sermon in parables. We have St. Mark only on the one side, St. Matthew on the other. According to Matth. viii. 1—24. Christ entered the ship, in which he suffered the storm, on the evening of that day, on which he delivered the sermon on the mount, Matth. v. vi. vii. According to Mark iv. 35—37. he entered the ship, in which he suffered the storm, on the evening of that day, on which he delivered his sermon in parables, Mark iv. 1—34. Now St. Matthew was both an Apostle, and an inhabitant of Capernaum, where Christ entered the ship: and therefore that he was better acquainted with the time, when the storm happened, is more probable, than that St. Mark knew the time better than St. Matthew. The objection, which our author makes a few lines before, that in this instance St. Matthew was not an eye-witness to the fact, since he relates the storm in ch. viii. and his own call to the apostleship in ch. ix. on Christ's return to Capernaum, is really of no weight. For if St. Matthew was called to the apostleship immediately on Christ's return, the time when the storm happened, must have been as well known to St. Matthew, as if he himself had been in the ship: and the very circumstance that his own election immediately succeeded that event, must have so impressed it on his memory, that he could not easily have forgotten it. Besides, our author's objection cannot be applied without involving us in a contradiction. For the object of it is to give probability to the opinion, that the storm happened, not after the sermon

sermon on the mount, as St. Matthew represents it, but after the sermon in parables, as St. Mark represents it. But if it happened after the sermon in parables, it happened after St. Matthew's call to the apostleship, for St. Matthew relates the sermon in parables in ch. xiii. Consequently, we cannot apply the objection, without contradicting the objection itself. If it be said in reply, that St. Matthew did not write in chronological order, and therefore that we cannot infer that he was called to the apostleship before the sermon in parables merely because he has related the one in ch. ix. the other in ch. xiii. we may answer that, if this mode of reasoning is inadmissible, no one can infer that the storm preceded St. Matthew's election, merely because it is related in ch. viii. In whatever view therefore the subject be examined, whether it be admitted, or whether it be denied, that St. Matthew wrote in chronological order, the inference in this case will be the same. Lastly, since St. Matthew has recorded both the sermon on the mount and the sermon in parables, it is less probable on this account also, that he annexed to the one a fact, which really followed the other, than that St. Mark did so, who has recorded only the latter. And since St. Matthew expressly says, ch. xiii. 53, 54. *και εγενετο οτε εις εβλεπεν ο Ιησους τας παραβολας ταυτας μετρηεν εκειθεν, και ελθων εις την παλριδα αυτου επιδασκεν αυτους εν τη συναγωγη αυτων*, we must conclude, unless we contradict the authority of a writer, who had certainly the best means of information, that Christ, after the sermon in parables was ended, instead of going to the sea side, took the road to Nazareth, which is called his country, because it was the residence of Joseph and Mary.

CHAP. III.

OF THE CAUSE, WHY ST. MATTHEW AND ST. MARK,
AND ALSO ST. MARK AND ST. LUKE, HAVE IN
SEVERAL INSTANCES A REMARKABLE VERBAL
HARMONY, THOUGH THE ONE DID NOT COPY FROM
THE WRITINGS OF THE OTHER.

PAGE 93.

1. This cause will be particularly examined in the
Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels.

2. Our author writes $\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \chi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ without $\tau\omicron\ \pi\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in order to make a Hebraism, where in fact there is none. In the expression $\delta\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \chi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, used both by St. Matthew and St. Luke, there is no Hebraism whatsoever, for $\delta\epsilon$ relates to $\pi\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ to $\chi\epsilon\rho\iota$. The peculiarity of the Hebrew language in this respect is, that a pronoun relative and a pronoun demonstrative are joined with the *same* substantive, as in Psalm cxliv. 8. $\text{אֲשֶׁר פִּיהֶם דִּבֶּר-שׁוֹא}$, which literally rendered is, Quorum os eorum loquitur vanitatem. Consequently to make the phrase in question a Hebraism it must be written $\delta\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \chi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$; and Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho really quotes it thus.

3. These two events are the cure of a paralytic, which St. Matthew has related in ch. ix. 1—8. and the cure of Jairus's daughter, which he has related ch. ix. 18—25. The former is related by St. Mark in ch. ii. 1—12. by St. Luke in ch. v. 17—26. and the latter is related by St. Mark in ch. v. 21—43. by St. Luke in ch. viii. 40—56. In the former, St. Mark and St. Luke (and also St. Matthew, which our author has not observed) have a great similarity of expression: but throughout the whole of the latter there is no verbal agreement whatsoever, not even in
Mark

Mark v. 22. Luke viii. 41. which our author has particularly quoted.

4. De Oratione, cap. 27. Tom. I. p. 245, 246. ed Delarue.

5. Instead of saying 'to follow any one' the Syrians say 'to follow after any one,' as may be seen on consulting these passages in the Syriac version. In the Hebrew Bible likewise, which is better authority, because it is an original, (whereas in the Syriac version the turns of expression might be ascribed to a closeness of translation,) the same mode of speaking is used. Thus in 1 Kings xix. 20. **וַיִּלְכְּ אַחֲרָיו**, which in the LXX. is literally rendered by *καὶ ἀκολουθήσω ὀπίσω σε*.

6. According to Griesbach's text, which is supported by the best authority, St. Mark has really used *ἀκολουθεῖν*. But then he has used it in this instance with *ὀπίσω με*, not with *μοι*, as a classic writer would have done. However, the Evangelists themselves use the construction *ἀκολουθεῖν τινι* much more frequently than the construction *ἀκολουθεῖν*, or *ελθεῖν, ὀπίσω τινος*, which makes their agreement in here using the latter construction the more remarkable.

7. St. Mark and St. Luke have here used *γαζοφυλακίον* to denote the treasury, in which voluntary contributions were deposited for the service of the temple. The word is frequently used both in the Septuagint and in the Greek Apocrypha: and in the book of Nehemiah it always denotes the sacred treasury in particular. Thus in ch. x. 37. *οἰσομεν τοῖς ἱερευσιν εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλακίον οἰκὲς τὰς Θεῶν*: ch. xiii. 4. *ἐν γαζοφυλακίῳ οἰκὲς Θεῶν ἡμῶν*: ver. 7. *ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ γαζοφυλακίον ἐν αὐλῇ οἰκὲς τὰς Θεῶν*. St. Mark and St. Luke therefore are so far from having taken *γαζοφυλακίον* in an unusual sense, that they have taken it in the sense, to which it was appropriated by particular usage. Consequently in this instance their agreement in expressing the same thing by the same word proves nothing in respect to our present inquiry. Nor is their agreement in the use of the

the word λεπτον at all extraordinary, though this word occurs no where else in the New Testament. Λεπτον was the name of the smallest coin among the Greeks: it was the 7th part of the Χαλκός, the 56th part of the Οβολός, and the 336th part of the Δραχμή. Now in Mark xii. 42. Luke xxi. 2. the subject relates to a poor woman, who, while the rich deposited in the treasury large sums, contributed two pieces of the smallest Jewish coin. That these two Evangelists therefore, in relating the story in Greek, selected the Greek word, which denoted the smallest coin among the Greeks, is what might be naturally expected, and requires no further explanation.

8. Φως is here used as synonymous to πυρ. These two words, which no classic Greek writer would have confounded, were sometimes exchanged by Jewish Greek writers, and used as synonymous, because the same Hebrew word אור denotes both light and fire. It is true that after points were added, the Vau was written with Holem, when אור was taken in the former sense, and with Shurek, when it was taken in the latter: yet, notwithstanding this Masoretic refinement, the word remained in fact the same. In Syriac, πυρ was expressed by ܦܝܪ, φως by ܦܘܫ, which differ only in the guttural פ, and were probably pronounced so nearly alike, that it was very difficult to distinguish them.

PAGE 94.

9. Our author here adds ε before αγιον, in order to make a Hebraism, though the phrase used by St. Luke has none.

10. עשה חיל is rendered in the LXX. by εποιησε δυναμιν. See Psalm cvii. (cviii. in LXX.) ver. 15, 16. For δυναμιν St. Luke has substituted κρατος.

11. Προ προσωπου της κυριας is a literal translation of לפני יהוה, or לפני אלהים, expressions, which incessantly occur in the Hebrew Bible.

12. Σκια Θανατῶ is the literal translation of צלמות, which is thus rendered in the LXX. in Job iii. 5. xii. 22. xxiv. 17. xxviii. 3. and in other places.

13. In the LXX. Μασιξ is so far from being the usual translation of נגנ, that, though נגנ occurs sixty times in the Old Testament, it is rendered by μασιξ in only three instances, Psalm xxxviii. 9. (not ver. 12. as both Kircher and Trommius have here inaccurately quoted), Psalm lxxxviii. 32. xc. 10. The second of these three passages is, επισκεψομαι εν ραβδῳ τας ανομιας αυτων, και εν μασιξι τας αμαρτίας αυτων, where μασιξ, as well as נגנ in the Hebrew, is used in its primitive sense. In the first example it is likewise used literally: but in the third example, which is μασιξ εκ εγγιαι τῷ σκηνωματι σζ, it admits at least of a figurative sense. N. B. The preceding quotations are in reference to the Greek division of the Psalms. In Prov. vi. 33. where נגנ signifies ‘pain’ or ‘affliction,’ it is rendered in the LXX. by οδυνη: but Symmachus has even in this instance used μασιξ.

14. As our author has not mentioned the line in Homer, he probably quotes on the authority of H. Stephens, or Scapula, the former of whom after he has explained μασιξ as denoting metaphorically ‘pœna’ adds, quo sensu dixit Homerus μασιγα Διός. Now H. Stephens had probably the following line in view, Iliad, N. 812. where Ajax says,

Ἀλλὰ Διὸς μασίγι κακὴ ἐδάμημεν Ἀχαιοί.

But the subject here relates to the havock made among the Greeks by Hector, whom Ajax describes as a scourge in the hands of Jupiter: and there is no reference, as our author supposed, to any disease inflicted by Jupiter.

15. It is the literal translation of נפני.

16. In 2 Kings xii. 17. (not 18. as our author quotes) we find ελαξεν Ἀζαηλ τὸ προσωπον αὐτῶ αναθεναι ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλημ: but neither in this, nor in the other two

examples is *σηριζω* used with *προσωπον* as in Luke ix. 51. However in the Greek version of Ezekiel *σηριζω προσωπον* frequently occurs. Thus in ch. xxi. 2. *σηρισον το προσωπον σου επι Ιερουσαλημ*: and in ch. xxviii. 21. *σηρισον το προσωπον σου επι Σιδωνα*. In both these instances *שׂים פָּנֶיךָ*, *converte faciam tuam*, is used in the Hebrew.

17. In Syriac the common meaning of *ܐܝܢܐ* is 'ecce,' as of *הִנֵּה* in Hebrew, and of *ιδε* in Greek: nor does it appear to be ever used in the sense of 'jam.' That the Syriac translator has used it in Luke xiii. 16. shews nothing more than that he took *ιδε* in its common acceptation.

18. A better example is in 1 Kings xvii. 24. where *ιδε* is used in the Greek, and *וְהִנֵּה* in the Hebrew.

The present is the most convenient place for the examination of a subject, which has lately engaged the attention of some of the most eminent German critics, namely, 'The origin of our three first Gospels.' Our author himself, in the preceding chapter, has delivered his opinion, though without entering into any minute investigation. Indeed the principal publications on this subject have appeared since the year 1788, when the last edition of his Introduction was printed, and therefore he had not an opportunity of entering so deeply into it, as he otherwise would have done. But as the subject is of great importance, and has material influence on every other critical question relative to our canonical Gospels, I thought it an indispensable duty to institute a particular inquiry into it, which I have done in the Dissertation printed in the latter half of this volume, and which the reader is requested to peruse immediately, because frequent reference will be made to it in the Notes to the three following chapters.

CHAP. IV.

OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.

SECT. I.

PAGE 96.

1. **S**EE Simonis Onomasticum Novi Testamenti (Hale, 1762, 4to.) p. 107, 108.

PAGE 97.

2. Not only in regard to the main point, but in regard likewise to all the concomitant circumstances, are the accounts, which are given in Matth. ix. 9—17. Mark ii. 13—22. Luke v. 27—39. precisely the same: and in the greatest part of the narrative St. Mark has even the same words, as St. Matthew. See the Dissertation on the Origin of our three first Gospels, First Division, Sect. 8. All three Evangelists agree in relating, immediately after the description of Christ's cure of a person afflicted with the palsy at Capernaum, (Matth. ix. 1—8. Mark ii. 1—12. Luke v. 17—26.) that Christ departed from the house where the paralytic person had been cured, and that seeing a certain collector of tribute, who was then engaged in the duties of his office, Christ invited him to become his disciple, that this collector of tribute accepted the invitation, that in consequence of his acceptance a repast was prepared, of which Christ and his disciples partook, that certain Pharisees to whom tax-gatherers were obnoxious, seeing Christ in such company, censured him on that account, and that Christ answered 'they who are whole need not a physician, but they who are sick.' Further, all three Evangelists agree in relating that some disciples of John the Baptist, who were accustomed to a more austere life, seeing Christ at an entertainment,

tainment, expressed their surprize at it, and that Christ answered them in the parable of the bridegroom, the parable of an old garment mended with new cloth, and the parable of old bottles filled with new wine. It is reasonable to suppose therefore, that all three Evangelists have recorded one and the same fact, and that, though they differ in respect to the *name* of the collector of tribute, they mean one and the same *person*. Now since both St. Mark and St. Luke agree in calling him *Λευις*, we may conclude that לוי was the name, which was written in the common Hebrew document, and that both St. Mark and St. Luke retained it without any alteration. St. Matthew, on the contrary, exchanged the name of לוי for that of מתי, not because לוי was a mistake in the original document, but probably because St. Matthew, after he was become a disciple of Christ, laid aside his former name, which would have instantly reminded the Jews of an occupation, which was offensive to them, and adopted a new one, in the same manner as the apostle Lebbæus adopted the name of Thaddæus, John, the cousin of Barnabas, the name of Mark, and Saul altered his name to that of Paul. According to this representation Levi (or Levis) and Matthew were nothing more than different names of the same person, the former being that, which he bore, while he was collector of tribute, the latter the name which he afterwards assumed. In the original Hebrew document the name of לוי was ascribed to him in the place, where his invitation to the apostleship was described, because *at that time* he bore the name of Levi: and St. Mark and St. Luke retained the name, which they found in the common Hebrew document, because, as they themselves were not Apostles, and had no connexion with St. Matthew, they either did not know, that St. Matthew had changed his name, or were not aware that the name לוי, which they found in their common document, denoted the Apostle Matthew. But St. Matthew himself, as he had laid aside the name of לוי long before he wrote his Gospel,

Gospel, substituted the name, by which he was generally known at the time when he wrote.

3. If St. Matthew and Levi had been names of two different persons, and these two persons had been invited by Christ at the same time to become his disciples, it is very improbable that St. Matthew would have confined the whole narrative in such a manner to himself, as not to give even the most distant hint, that another person received, at the same time, a similar invitation. But if the omission of the name of Levi in St. Matthew's Gospel must appear extraordinary under these circumstances, what must we think of the omission of the name of Matthew in the place where St. Mark and St. Luke relate the call of Levi. Our author indeed endeavours, as will presently appear, to assign reasons, which might have induced these two Evangelists to relate the call of the one, and omit the call of the other. But his reasons are merely imaginary: and if they were ever so well founded, they never could justify a *designed* omission, as his arguments imply, of the call of a person, who was received into the number of the twelve Apostles, and that too in the very place, where they relate the call of his supposed colleague.

PAGE 98.

4. It is true that St. Mark (but not St. Luke) calls Levi the son of Alphæus: but that he was therefore a relation of Christ, is an inference, which we cannot make, unless we take for granted, 1st, that Alphæus, mentioned Mark ii. 14. as the father of Levi, was the *same Alphæus*, who is mentioned as the father of James the Apostle, Matth. x. 3. Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15. and 2dly, that James the Apostle, son of Alphæus, was the *same James*, who is mentioned Matth. xiii. 55. and there called one of Christ's brethren, (αδελφοί). This is the only mode of reasoning, by which a relationship can be made out between Levi and Christ: and if these two just mentioned positions could be proved to be true,

it would follow that Levi was a brother of James the Less, as he is called, and a relation of Christ. But the first of them it is at least difficult to prove; for we have not sufficient data, to determine the identity of the Alphæus mentioned in Mark ii. 14. with the Alphæus mentioned in Matth. x. 3, &c.: and the identity of the name is no argument for the identity of the person, since various persons, who lived in Galilee, might have borne the name of Alphæus. Michaelis himself likewise has since abandoned the opinion that the Alphæus mentioned in Mark ii. 14. was the same as the Alphæus mentioned in Matth. x. 3, &c. as appears from what he says, on Mark ii. 14. in his Annotations on the three first Gospels, published in 1790. But even if their identity be granted, it will be of no use; for the other position not only cannot be proved to be true, but may be proved to be false. For none of Christ's brethren believed in him, at least not at the time when he chose his twelve Apostles, since it is expressly said in John vii. 5. Ουδε γαρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῆς ἐπιστενον εἰς αὐτον: and that the twelve Apostles had been already chosen at that time appears from what Christ says a few verses before (John vi. 70.), ουδε ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς τῆς δωδεκά ἐξελεξαμην, &c. See also Mark iii. 21. 31. But if none of Christ's brethren believed in him, none of them could have become an Apostle: and therefore the James, who is mentioned, Matth. xiii. as one of Christ's brethren (ἀδελφοί) cannot be the Apostle James, the son of Alphæus. It cannot be objected, that the word ἀδελφός has a different meaning in John vii. 5. from that which it has in Matth. xiii. 55. and that in one place it must be taken in a remote, in the other in its proper sense: for this would be to adopt a mere arbitrary interpretation, in order to support a previously assumed opinion.

5. Though St. Mark and St. Luke relate that the entertainment was given in the house of Levi, we cannot conclude that it was not given in the house of St. Matthew, without being guilty of a *petitio principii*,
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and of taking for granted that Levi and Matthew were different persons. That St. Matthew has barely mentioned the feast, without noticing the founder of it, is a proof only of his own modesty.

6. This is the only solid argument, which can be alledged in favour of the opinion, that Matthew and Levi were two different persons: but this argument will not outweigh the arguments in favour of their identity, if a reason can be assigned, why St. Mark and St. Luke, in relating Christ's invitation of a collector of tribute at Capernaum to become his disciple, agreed in calling him Levi, though each of them in his catalogue of the twelve Apostles has used not the name of Levi, but that of Matthew. And this reason has been already assigned in Note 2.

7. It may be here asked: Of what Apostles? For our author himself acknowledges in his Note to Mark ii. 14. that more persons, than one, who bore the name of Alphæus, are mentioned in the New Testament.

8. That James, Josès, Simon, and Judas, who are mentioned in Matth. xiii. 55. and are there called brethren of Christ, were sons of *that* Alphæus, who is mentioned in Matth. x. 3. Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15. as the father of an apostle, called James, is an opinion, which has been already confuted in Note 4. Whether *their* father was likewise called Alphæus, is a question of no importance to the present inquiry.

9. Even if St. Matthew (namely, on the supposition that he was the same as Levi, which must be here supplied) was son of that Alphæus, who was father of the Apostle called James the Less, still the inference will be false, that St. Matthew was a relation of Christ, because Alphæus, the father of James the Less, was not the father of the four persons mentioned in Matth. xiii. 55. The supposition therefore, that St. Matthew and Levi were the same person, is not at all affected by St. Matthew's silence in respect to any relationship

with Christ, since the supposition warrants no such conclusion.

PAGE 99.

10. Our author's objection to the argument, which he himself had used in the third edition, when clearly stated, is as follows. ' Though St. Matthew, in his catalogue of the twelve Apostles, has not said that he was the son of Alphæus, as he has of James the Less, we cannot infer from his silence on this subject, that he was not the son of Alphæus, because he is equally silent in respect to Lebbæus, though Lebbæus, as well as James the Less, was (as is supposed) the son of Alphæus.—But if St. Matthew had been son of *that* Alphæus, who was father of James the Less, it is probable that he would have noted at least his own relationship: and therefore our author's objection to his own argument is not convincing. The argument however is, for this reason, without foundation, that it implies, what no man can prove, that the Alphæus mentioned in Mark ii. 14. as the father of Levi, was that very Alphæus, who was father of James the Less. Our author has not expressed himself clearly; but he means to argue thus. According to St. Mark, the father of Levi was called Alphæus: if therefore St. Matthew and Levi were one and the same person, St. Matthew's father was called Alphæus. But *this* Alphæus was the same person, as the father of James the Less: therefore, &c.

11. It is true that Christ might have invited a person to become his constant attendant, and yet not receive him into the number of his Apostles: whence it appears, that there is no absolute necessity for concluding that Levi, if he was a different person from St. Matthew, was likewise an Apostle. But if the arguments, which have been used above in Note 2. can be overruled, and St. Matthew and Levi were really different persons, the opinion adopted by Hase
and

and Heumann, that Levi was the same person as the Apostle, whom St. Matthew in his catalogue of the Apostles call Lebbæus, will be found to be not wholly destitute of support. For the Hebrew name לֵוִי, especially if pointed לֵוִי (see Simonis Onomast. N. T. p. 99), might be expressed in Greek by Λεββαῖος, since β is frequently used for γ, as in Δαβιδ for דָּוִד: and though the word is written Λεββαῖος with a double β, this addition is of no consequence, since in other Hebrew names we sometimes meet with the same duplication, as in Tobit i. 8. where Δεβωρ is written Δεββωρα. Further, the Apostle Lebbæus, is supposed to have been the son of that Alphæus, who was father of James the Less. For in the place where St. Matthew has Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος, ch. x. 3. and St. Mark Θαδδαῖος, ch. iii. 18. St. Luke has Ἰσδὰς Ἰακώβου: and since in St. Luke's catalogue of the twelve Apostles Ἰακώβος ὁ τῆς Αλφαῖς precedes with the interval of only one other name, that of Simon the zealot, it is supposed that St. Luke intended by Ἰσδὰς Ἰακώβου to refer to James the son of Alphæus. Hence it is concluded that Lebbæus was likewise the son of Alphæus. Again, according to Mark ii. 14. Levi had a father, who was called Alphæus: and though no one can prove that *this* Alphæus was the same person as the father of James the Less, yet if St. Matthew and Levi were different persons, we cannot prove the contrary. It is therefore not improbable that Levi mentioned in Mark ii. 14. Luke v. 27. was the Apostle Lebbæus.—This is the general outline of the argument, which may be alledged in favour of the opinion, that Levi and Lebbæus were one and the same person. In fact however they prove nothing more than this: that, *if* St. Mark and St. Luke, notwithstanding their agreement with St. Matthew, not only in the main narrative, but likewise in all the circumstances, except in regard to the name, have really described the call of a different person from him, whose call St. Matthew has described, the person mentioned by St. Mark and St. Luke *may* be

be the Apostle Lebbæus. But if the arguments in favour of the opinion, that all three Evangelists have related the call of one and the same person, are valid, as they appear to be, the notion that St. Mark and St. Luke have related the call of Lebbæus to the apostleship, is ungrounded.

12. See Lardner's history of the Apostles and Evangelists, Vol. I. ch. v. § 1. (Vol. VI. p. 44—48. ed. Lardner's Works, published in 1788), where the few traditional accounts, which are extant of St. Matthew's history, are collected. But Lardner justly observes, 'that the diversity of those accounts seems to shew, that they are all without good foundation.'

PAGE 100.

13. Theophylact, in the Preface to his Commentary on St. Matthew, and Euthymius Zigabenus, likewise in the Preface to his Commentary on St. Matthew, (of which however only a Latin translation has been printed, viz. in the Maxima Bibliotheca, Tom. XIX.) say that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel eight years after the ascension. And it is better to abide by their mode of expression than to substitute, as our author has done, the year 41: for it is not absolutely certain that Christ was thirty-three years of age, when he was crucified. Further, since chronologers are agreed, that Christ was born at least four years before the commencement of the vulgar æra, great care must be taken in reducing the years after the ascension to the years of Christ, not to confound the year 41, for instance, according to the vulgar era, with that, which was really the 41st year after the birth of Christ, for this is at the outside the year 37 of the vulgar era. In respect to dates in the first century, as the vulgar era was not then used, it is a matter of indifference, provided we are every where consistent, whether we refer to the real year of Christ's birth, or whether we have respect to the vulgar era.

14. When our author says that in most of the subscriptions to St. Matthew's Gospel, the year 41 (or as
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he ought rather to have said the eighth year after the ascension) is assigned as the date of its composition, it must not be thence inferred, that most of the Greek MSS. really assign to it this date: for in the greatest part of the Greek MSS., especially of those, which are written in uncial letters, no date whatever is mentioned in the subscription. At least Wettstein has quoted only eleven out of more than an hundred MSS. of the Gospels, and only one of them is written in uncials. These eleven however agree in assigning the eighth year after the ascension. The Arabic Life of St. Matthew, to which our author refers, is probably the work published by Kirstenius at Breslaw in 1608, under the title, *Vitæ IV. Evangelistarum e codice Arabico*.

15. See what Lardner has said on this subject, Vol. I. p. 262. ed. 1788.

16. The German title of this work is, *Abhandlung über die Grundsprache des Evangelii Matthæi*, Halle, 1755, 8vo.

PAGE 102.

17. Supplement, Vol. I. p. 110. or Vol. VI. p. 56. ed. 1788.

PAGE 104.

18. An exception however may be made, in favour of his fourteenth argument, which is of a different description, namely: 'There is also an expression used by him (St. Matthew) once or twice, intimating that it was a considerable space since the time of the event, and his writing about it: ch. xxvii. 8. *Wherefore that field was called the field of blood to this day*. Having related the affair of the soldiers, and the directions given to them by the Jewish council to say, *that his disciples came by night, and stole him away*: he adds, *and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day*, ver. 15. Such an expression does not denote any certain period: but one would think, that in this case, thereby must be intended

intended a considerable space of time, more than eight, or ten, or fifteen years.'

19. In the paragraph to which our author alludes, he says only 'according to *some critics* it was in the year 61, though it really must have been much later.' The opinion therefore, which Michaelis delivered, was rather in favour of St. Paul's second residence, than in favour of his first residence in Rome. This contradiction arose from the following oversight. In the third edition of his Introduction, he really did understand the words of Irenæus, as he says: but he altered the sentence in his fourth edition, and yet forgot that he had done so, when he came to the place, to which this note relates.

PAGE 105.

20. It is true that Cosmas of Alexandria refers the writing of St. Matthew's Gospel to the time when St. Stephen was put to death. See Lardner's Works, Vol. IV. p. 51. ed. 1788. But Cosmas does not say with Tillemont that this event happened soon after the death of Christ: nor can it have happened so soon, as will appear from a following note.

21. Tillemont's opinion differs very little from that of Dr. Townson, who supposes that St. Matthew's Gospel was written in the year 37. See his Discourses on the four Gospels, p. 120. 2d ed. Oxford, 1788, 8vo. And Dr. Owen in his Observations on the four Gospels (London, 1764, 8vo.) p. 22. fixes it only one year later, namely in 38.

22. That the fourth year after the ascension was the year in which St. Paul went to Jerusalem to confer with St. Peter (Gal. i. 18.), is an opinion wholly destitute of foundation. For according to St. Paul's own account (Gal. i. 17, 18.) he went into Arabia after his conversion; and after his return to Damascus, three years elapsed, before he went up to Jerusalem to confer with St. Peter. Consequently, even if the time of his stay in Arabia be not taken into the account, his journey to Jerusalem to confer with St. Peter cannot have

have happened so soon as the fourth year after the death of Christ. But St. Paul's conversion must have happened several years later; for at that time the Jewish Sanhedrim possessed the power of inflicting capital punishments, as appears from the condemnation of St. Stephen by the Sanhedrim (*ἡγαγον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον*, Acts vi. 12.) which preceded St. Paul's journey to Damascus: and as long as Judæa was governed by the Roman procurator Pontius Pilate, the Sanhedrim did not possess this power, for the Jewish priests themselves said to Pilate, when they requested him to condemn Christ, *ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐξέστιν ἀποκτείνειν ἄνθρωπον*, John xviii. 31. But Pilate continued procurator of Judæa till the beginning of the year 37 of the vulgar era: for Josephus, who relates in his *Antiq. Lib. xviii. cap. 4. § 2.* that Pilate, after he had governed Judæa ten years, was dispossessed of his government by Vitellius, proconsul of Syria, and sent to Rome, adds that when Pilate arrived there, Tiberius was already dead: *πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῇ Παμῃ προσχεῖν αὐτὸν, φθάνει Τιβερίου μεταστας*. Now Tiberias died on the 16th of March, of the year 37 of the vulgar era. Consequently the death of St. Stephen, St. Paul's persecution of the Christians, and his subsequent conversion, could not have happened before that year: and therefore the journey to Jerusalem, mentioned Gal. i. 18. which was at least three years later, could not have taken place before the year 40.

Whether the condemnation of St. Stephen and the persecution of the Christians took place immediately after the departure of Pilate, or whether they happened in a later year, is uncertain. But as Vitellius was as favourable to the Jews as Pilate had been inimical to them, and Marcellus, the friend of Vitellius, was appointed by him to govern Judæa in the room of Pilate (see Josephus in the place above-quoted), it is not improbable that the Sanhedrim obtained from him a privilege, which it did not enjoy under the government of Pilate: and if they did, they of course took the earliest opportunity of making use of it.

23. That

23. That St. Matthew wrote his Gospel for the use of the Jewish converts in Palestine is a point, on which all the ancients are agreed: but for the opinion that he wrote it in the city of Jerusalem, we have no good authority. It is true that the author of the Synopsis, falsely ascribed to Athanasius, and the author of the Paschal Chronicle, assert it. See Lardner's Works, Vol. IV. p. 263. 293. ed. 1788. Jerusalem is likewise mentioned in the subscription to St. Matthew's Gospel in some few Greek manuscripts. But such late and such anonymous authorities are of no value: and it is evident that the ancients themselves did not know in what city St. Matthew wrote his Gospel; for Jerom, who, from his residence in Palestine, had the best opportunity of procuring information, says only in general terms, in the Preface to his Commentary on St. Matthew (Tom. IV. p. 3. ed. Martianay), Evangelium in Judæa Hebræo sermone edidit. And Chrysostom in his first Homily on St. Matthew's Gospel virtually confesses, that he is unable to determine in what city any one of the four Evangelists wrote: *ἐνθα μὲν οὐ ἐκαστὸς διατρίβων ἐγράψει, καὶ σφοδρὰ δεῖ ισχυρισσασθαι*, (where instead of *δεῖ* some authorities have *δυνατόν*). See Chrysost. Opp. Tom. VII. p. 8. ed. Montfaucon.

24. St. Luke virtually declares in Acts viii. 1. that the Apostles did *not* leave Jerusalem during the persecution, which took place after the death of St. Stephen: for he says, 'They were all scattered abroad, throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, *except the Apostles*. And in ver. 14. 'When the Apostles, which were at Jerusalem, &c.' Likewise in ch. ix. 26—30. where he mentions St. Paul's arrival in Jerusalem after his conversion, he speaks in general terms of the Apostles, as being still there.

PAGE 110.

25. Whatever interpretation be given to the words of Irenæus, whether we suppose that he meant that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel during St. Paul's first residence

dence in Rome, described in Acts xxviii. or during a second residence, we shall be equally well able to account for the circumstance that St. Matthew's Gospel was unknown to St. Luke. For in either case, if St. Luke wrote his Gospel before he quitted Palestine to accompany St. Paul to Rome, he wrote before St. Matthew: and, if on the other hand he wrote his Gospel after he had left Palestine, St. Matthew's Gospel, even if written before that of St. Luke, would have remained, if not wholly unknown to him, at least unseen by him, since transcripts of written books were not sent from one quarter of the globe to another with that rapidity, with which we now distribute copies of printed books.

26. The words of Origen on this subject are quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 25.

SECT. II.

PAGE III.

1. The words used by Irenæus preclude this explanation: for Irenæus expressly says, that St. Matthew's *Hebrew* Gospel was published while St. Paul and St. Peter were preaching in Rome. Ο μὲν δὲ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλεκτῇ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξένεγκεν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ Πέτρος καὶ τὸ Παῦλος ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελίζομενων καὶ θεμελιουσίων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Adv. Heres. Lib. III. cap. 1.

2. This is the only instance of an internal note of time, from which it might be inferred that St. Matthew's Gospel was written before Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, had been appointed king of Judæa by the emperor Claudius. But in fact this internal note of time is a mere imaginary one, for it was not the practice of ancient historians to distinguish kings of the same name by any particular mark, or by the addition of 'the first,' 'the second,' and so on, as is the practice of modern historians. When the Romans invaded Macedon after the close of the second Punic

Punic war, Philip, who then reigned in Macedon, was the third king of that name: yet Livy in the thirty-first and following books of his history, in which he relates the Macedonian war, calls him simply Philippus, without any distinguishing epithet whatsoever, since the circumstance of the history itself clearly shewed, that neither Philip, the father of Alexander, nor Philip, the son of Cassander, could be meant. In like manner Herod the Great is called simply Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς, Matth. ii. 1. without any additional epithet to distinguish him from his grandson Herod Agrippa, who was likewise king of Judæa, because it could not have occurred to the writer, though he had written either during or later than the reign of the other Herod, that any of his readers would make so strange a mistake, as to suppose that king Herod, under whose reign Christ was born, was not Herod the Great, but his grandson. St. Luke also in his Gospel, ch. i. 5. calls Herod the Great simply Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς, without any additional epithet to distinguish him from his grandson: and in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xii. 1. he gives to Herod Agrippa the same title Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς, without any additional epithet to distinguish him from his grandfather. For St. Luke could not suppose, that any one would imagine, the Herod, who beheaded James the Apostle (Acts xii. 2.) was Herod the Great, any more than he could suppose, that one would mistake the Herod, under whose reign Christ was born, for the Herod, who beheaded St. James. Further, the same title, which St. Luke gives both to Herod the Great, and to his grandson, is given by St. Mark to Herod Antipas (son of Herod the Great), who is commonly known by the title of tetrarch of Galilee, a title however, which St. Mark never gives him, but on the contrary calls him in ch. vi. 14. ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης, or as the Codex Bezae, and some other MSS. read Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς. The indiscriminate application therefore of this title to the various reigning Herods makes it impossible to deduce any inference from the use of it
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in Matth. ii. 1. in respect to the time, when St. Matthew's Gospel was written, or even when the two first chapters were written, if they were not written by St. Matthew. And if in the Acts of the Apostles, which were undoubtedly written long after the reign of Herod Agrippa, St. Luke thought it unnecessary to distinguish *this* Herod by any other appellation than that of Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς, though St. Luke himself had in his Gospel already given the same title to the grandfather, the supposition that either St. Luke or St. Matthew (for our author's inference applies equally to both) would have distinguished Herod from his grandson, if he had written after the reign of the latter, is evidently devoid of foundation. And it is the more remarkable, that our author should apply the argument to the Gospel of St. Matthew, as in a following section (ch. vi. sect. 5.) where another writer is quoted, who applies it to the Gospel of St. Luke, he positively rejects it.

PAGE 112.

3. Namely in the Note to Matth. ii. 1.

4. If Matth. i. ii. were not written by St. Matthew himself, but were afterwards prefixed to his Gospel, it is no necessary consequence, that the author of them wrote after St. Matthew, since they may have existed in a separate document under the title, which they still bear, Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, even before St. Matthew's Gospel was written: and therefore the use of the expression Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς in ch. ii. 1. can prove nothing in respect to the time when St. Matthew himself wrote, if the two first chapters were written by a different person. But whether they were, or were not, is of no importance to the present inquiry, since the expression contains no internal note of time, as has been already shewn.

5. If St. Matthew's Gospel (on the supposition that it was written before St. Luke's Gospel) remained unknown to St. Luke for no other reason, than because it was written in Hebrew, that is, in the language

spoken in Palestine in the time of the Apostles, St. Luke must have been unacquainted with that language, for otherwise, the circumstance, that St. Matthew's Gospel was written in Hebrew, could not have been the cause, why St. Luke made no use of it. But it is impossible to read a page of St. Luke's Gospel without perceiving the author's intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew turns of expression. Besides, it has been shewn in the Dissertation on the Origin of our three first Gospels, ch. 15—18. not only that St. Luke made use of Hebrew documents, but likewise in what manner he used them.

6. If the arguments in favour of a late date for the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel be compared with those in favour of an early date, it will be found, that the former greatly outweigh the latter. In the first place, the evidence in favour of a late date is ancient, whereas the evidence in favour of an early date is modern. A writer of the second century, as Irenæus was, had surely better means of information in respect to a fact in the first century, than any writer could have, who lived in a later age. And it is incredible, that Irenæus would have assigned to the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel a later date, than that, which he had really heard, since he could have had no motive for so doing; and if he had been instigated by any motive, to substitute his own conjecture to the report, which had been made to him, it is probable, if we may judge from the practice of later ecclesiastical writers, that he would have endeavoured rather to augment, than to diminish the antiquity of St. Matthew's Gospel. Further, we may trace in what manner the period, which elapsed between the death of Christ and the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel, as assigned by Irenæus, gradually diminished. For, according to Irenæus, thirty years must have elapsed. Now in the Paschal Chronicle, as it is called, which was written in the seventh century, the number thirty is exactly halved, and the fifteenth year after the death
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of Christ is assigned as the year when St. Matthew wrote: and four centuries afterwards, Theophylact divides this half, and makes St. Matthew's Gospel written in the eighth year after the death of Christ. These successive divisions of the period assigned by Irenæus are alone sufficient to excite a suspicion against them, and consequently to augment the credibility of the original date. It cannot be supposed either that the author of the Paschal Chronicle, or Theophylact, had access to *historical* information on this subject, which had escaped the notice of Irenæus: and at any rate, if the former had good historical authority for reducing the period assigned by Irenæus to only one half, the latter could not have good historical authority for halving it again. Either one therefore, or both of them, must have delivered mere matter of opinion: and it is not difficult to discover the cause, which gave birth to each of their opinions. Almost all writers, who have rejected the testimony of Irenæus, have contended, that it would have been improper for St. Matthew to have deferred writing his Gospel so long as thirty years after the death of Christ; and therefore they have diminished this period in a greater or less degree, according to the circumstances, which, as they supposed, rendered the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel necessary. Now it has been thought necessary that St. Matthew should have written his Gospel before the Apostles left Jerusalem to preach the Gospel in other countries. But in the Acts no mention is made of any number of Apostles being together in Jerusalem after Acts xv. where the council of the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem is described: and as this council was supposed to have been held about fifteen or sixteen years after the death of Christ, the first alteration of the period assigned by Irenæus was a diminution of it to one half, as in the Paschal Chronicle. Later writers again supposed, that, if not all the Apostles, at least the greatest part of them, and among them St. Matthew, had already left Jerusalem, when St. Paul arrived there three years

after his conversion, because in the Epistle to the Galatians, ch. i. 18, 19. he says, that he *saw* no other of the Apostles than St. Peter and St. James : and, since it was calculated that about eight years had elapsed at this time after the death of Christ, (see Note 22. to the preceding section), the date of St. Matthew's Gospel was further reduced from the fifteenth to the eighth year after the ascension, as by Theophylact. And it is probably owing to the authority of Theophylact, which was very great in the Greek church, that we find in the subscriptions to so many Greek manuscripts ἐξεδόθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν μετὰ χρόνους οκτῶ της τε Χριστοῦ ἀναληψέως* : for, if we except the Codex Cyprius, which however in the opinion of Simon was not written before the tenth century, all the manuscripts, from which this, or indeed any date has been quoted, whether by Mill, Wetstein, Matthai, Birch, or other critics, are all written in small letters, and are therefore probably posterior to the age in which Theophylact lived.

To oppose these late opinions, for they are nothing more than mere opinions, to the assertion of Irenæus, who lived so near to the time of the fact in question, is surely to violate the laws of sound criticism. Besides, these opinions, if not improbable, are at least destitute of support. For in the first place the supposed propriety of a fact can never prove the existence of that fact : and therefore however great we may represent to ourselves the advantages, which might have been derived from an early composition of St. Matthew's Gospel, we cannot thence conclude that it really was written either within eight, or even within fifteen years after the death of Christ. That St. Matthew wrote his Gospel before the Apostles, that is, before the greatest part of them, left Jerusalem, is likewise mere conjecture. For Eusebius, to whom appeal is made in support of this opinion, says nothing more than that,

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* But Nicephorus Callisti, who lived in the fourteenth century, had again recourse to the opinion, that it was written in the fifteenth year after the ascension.

‘ When St. Matthew was about to go to other people, he delivered his Gospel to the Hebrews in their own language * : but Eusebius does not say, *when* St. Matthew left Judæa, or even when he left Jerusalem, and it is probable that Eusebius did not know the time, or he would have mentioned it. Nor is it possible to determine when the greatest part of the Apostles left Judæa : for though Acts xv. is the last place, in which St. Luke speaks of an assembly of Apostles at Jerusalem, yet, as all the following chapters of the Acts are wholly confined to the history of St. Paul, we cannot argue from his silence in respect to the twelve. It is therefore at least possible, that St. Matthew remained, if not in Jerusalem, at least somewhere in Judæa, ten or even fifteen years after the council described in Acts xv. : and the bare possibility of it is sufficient to destroy the force of those arguments, which depend on the contrary supposition. The opinion therefore that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel within fifteen years after the death of Christ, whether we assume exactly the fifteenth year, with the author of the Paschal Chronicle and Nicephorus Callisti, or whether we reduce it to the eighth year, with Theophylact and the subscriptions to several Greek manuscripts, or whether we make a further reduction, as some late critics have done, is destitute, not only of direct historical support, but likewise of that support, which its defenders have endeavoured to give it by the aid of induction.

Since then the early dates, which have been assigned to the composition of St. Matthew’s Gospel, are themselves incapable of proof, it remains only, that we examine, whether Irenæus, in testifying that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel at the time that St. Peter and St. Paul were together in Rome, has asserted any thing, which is in itself incredible. Now Eusebius has quoted the

* Ματθαῖος μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἐμίλλε καὶ ἐφ’ ἱερεῖς ἵναι, πατρὶω γλῶττι γράφῃ παραθεῖς το κατ’ αὐτὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, κ.τ.λ. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 24.

the words of Irenæus not only without expressing the least distrust as to the truth of them *, but has prefaced them in the following manner, Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. 8. *Επει δε αρχόμενοι της πραγματειας υποσχεσιν ποιημεθα, παραθησεσθαι κατα καιρον ειποντες τας των αρχαιων εκκλησιασικων πρεσβυτερων τε και συγγραφων φωνας, εν αις τας περι των ενδιαθηκων γραφων εις αυτας κατελθοντας παραδοσεις γραφη παραδεδικασι, τωτων δε και ο Ειρηναιος ην, φερε και τας αυτα παραθωμεθα λεξεις.* He then quotes the words of Irenæus: *ο μιν δε Ματθαιος εν τοις Έβραίοις τη ιδία αυτων διαλεκτω και γραφην εξενεγκεν Ευαγγελιζ, τει Πιτρει και τει Παυλει εν Ρωμη ευαγγελιζομενων και Ξιμελιωντων την εκκλησιαν.* It appears then that Eusebius describes the assertion of Irenæus as *η περι των ενδιαθηκων γραφων εις αυτον κατελθοντα παραδοσις*; and *παραδοσις*, as used by the ancient fathers, does not signify a mere uncertain tradition, but good and credible evidence delivered by one person to another, whether in writing or in speaking, and is applied even to the Gospels, which were called *ευαγγελικαι παραδοσεις*. See Suiceri Thesaurus, Tom. II. p. 576. Eusebius then, since he has neither here nor elsewhere advanced an opinion on this subject, which contradicts the assertion of Irenæus †, may be rather supposed to have tacitly assented to it. What Epiphanius says is likewise consistent with the account of Irenæus, as far as relates to St. Matthew: for he says in Hæres. LI, cap. 6. *ευθυς δε μετα τον Ματθαιον ακολουθος γενομενος ο Μαρκος τω αγιω Πιτρω εν Ρωμη επιτρεπεται το ευαγγελιον εκθεσθαι και γραψας αποσπеллεται υπο τει αγιω Πιτρω εις την των Αιγυπτίων χωραν.* But if St. Mark wrote soon (ευθυς) after St. Matthew, and yet wrote so long after his arrival in Rome with St. Peter, that the

* Eusebius in general placed great confidence in the testimony of Irenæus: for in another place (Lib. III. cap. 23.) speaking of the testimony of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, to the fact, that St. John lived to the reign of Domitian, he says, *πιστοι δ' αν ειεν ετοι.*

† When Eusebius says that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel when he was going to leave Judæa, no one can assert, that he contradicts Irenæus, because no one knows *when* St. Matthew left Judæa, as has been already shewn.

the composition of his Gospel immediately preceded St. Mark's departure, it is consonant to the account of Epiphanius to suppose, that St. Matthew likewise wrote after St. Peter's arrival in Rome. Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was a contemporary of Epiphanius, says still more plainly that St. Matthew wrote after St. Peter was arrived in Rome, and adds that St. John was then arrived at Ephesus. For, in the Preface to his *Catena in Johannem*, after having related that the Apostles remained a considerable time (*ἐπὶ πολλῷ χρόνῳ*) at Jerusalem he says, that in process of time (*τὰ χρόνια προελθόντος*) the Apostles went into other countries, that St. Peter went to Rome, and St. John to Ephesus, and then immediately adds: *γίνεται τοίνυν ἐν ταῖς τῶν λοιπῶν Εὐαγγελιστῶν ἐκδόσεσι, Ματθαῖος τε καὶ Μάρκος, κ.τ.λ.* Nor is the account of Irenæus contradicted by any ecclesiastical writer either of the second, or of the third, or of the fourth, or even of the fifth century: for all the authors, who assign an early date to St. Matthew's Gospel lived after the fifth century, as appears from Lardner's *History of the Apostles and Evangelists*, ch. v. sect. 2. It is true that neither Clement of Alexandria, nor Origen, nor Jerom, &c. have positively confirmed the testimony of Irenæus, since they are silent as to the year, in which St. Matthew wrote: but then their silence cannot be so construed, as to make it a contradiction of Irenæus. But if neither Eusebius, who quoted the words of Irenæus; nor Epiphanius, nor Théodore of Mopsuestia, nor any other ecclesiastical writer of the five first centuries, observed any thing incredible in the account of Irenæus relative to the time when St. Matthew's Gospel was written, it may be asked: what reason can be assigned, why *we* should reject it as incredible?

Now it has been asserted that the very fact, by which Irenæus determines the time when St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, is itself an imaginary one, it not being true, that St. Peter ever was in Rome. Could this assertion be proved it would certainly destroy the credit,

which would otherwise be due to Irenæus: for though the determination of time by a reference to a contemporary fact, if that fact is well known, and admits of no doubt, is still more satisfactory than the bare mention of a date, since a date is more easily forgotten than a fact, yet on the other hand, if that fact is false, the ground of determination vanishes, and with it the determination itself. But the arguments, which have been used in favour of the opinion, that St. Peter never was in Rome, affect only the opinion that he came there before St. Paul, and this opinion they certainly do affect. For the Epistle to the Romans, which was written from Corinth, implies that neither St. Peter nor any other of the Apostles had been at that time in Rome: and that St. Peter was not in Rome when St. Paul arrived there with St. Luke, is at least probable, since St. Luke in Acts xxviii. 16—31. where he describes St. Paul's arrival in Rome, and his reception there, says nothing of St. Peter, which we might expect that he would have done, if St. Peter had been there. Further, in none of the Epistles which St. Paul wrote from Rome, is the least mention made of St. Peter, which appears at least to imply, that St. Peter was not there, when those Epistles were written, unless it be supposed that the dissension, of which St. Paul speaks in Gal. ii. 11. still subsisted. But if we allow to these arguments their full force, the possibility still remains that St. Peter came *afterwards* to Rome, and that he was there before the death of St. Paul. And that St. Peter really was in Rome is a fact so strongly attested by the ecclesiastical writers of the four first centuries, that it is difficult to withstand their united evidence. It is asserted by Clement of Alexandria, by Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, with other writers of the Greek church, and by Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Jerom, and other writers of the Latin church*. One should

* See the authorities quoted in Lardner's History of the Apostles and Evangelists, ch. xviii. sect. 5. Vol. VI. p. 556—561. ed. 1788.

should suppose that the early members of the Latin church especially could not have been mistaken in respect to so plain a question, whether St. Peter ever was in Rome, or not. And on the other hand, if they knew that it was false, or doubted the truth of it, but propagated the story in order to enjoy the reputation of having had two Apostles among them as teachers, (for no doubt could be made that St. Paul went to Rome) it would not have been so generally asserted by the members of the Greek church, on whom this motive could have no influence. That some of the fathers* have assigned a too early date to St. Peter's arrival in Rome, cannot be used as an argument, that the whole story is false: for we all know by experience, that a man may be very certain as to the reality of a fact, and yet have wholly forgotten in what year it happened. As to the expression *θεμελιων των την εκκλησιαν*, which Irenæus likewise uses, it must not be understood, as if Irenæus intended to say that the *first* foundation of the church of Rome was jointly laid by St. Peter and St. Paul, for *θεμελιω* signifies not only 'fundamentum jacio,' but likewise 'stabilio,' and 'confirmo:' and that Irenæus has here used it in the latter sense can admit of no doubt. For no man, who had read St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in which the author declares, ch. i. 13. that he had not then been in Rome, and yet describes in ver. 8. the Christian community as being already in so flourishing a state, *ὅτι ἡ πῖσις αὐτῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ*, could think of attributing the *first* establishment of that community either to St. Paul alone, or to St. Paul in company with any other Apostle: and that Irenæus was well acquainted with the Epistle to the Romans is certain, for he has made quotations from almost every chapter of it, as any one may see on turning only to the Index locorum scripturæ sacræ in Massuet's edition. Whoever argues therefore from the expression *θεμελιων των την εκκλησιαν*,

* Eusebius for instance (Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. 14.) says that St. Peter arrived at Rome in the time of Claudius.

ἐκκλησίαν, and endeavours to convict Irenæus of a falsehood, on the supposition that he used θεμελίω in the sense of 'fundamentum jacio,' argues without foundation.

The objections therefore which have been made to the evidence of Irenæus, in respect to the time when St. Matthew's Gospel was written, are by no means sufficient to destroy its validity: and since it is the most ancient evidence on this subject, and is contradicted by none of the fathers of the five first centuries, there can be no reason for rejecting it. Besides, we may shew on other grounds, that it is at least highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that St. Matthew's Gospel was not written within eight, or within fifteen, or even within twenty years after the death of Christ. Every critic will readily admit, that the diligent inquiries, which St. Luke, as he himself says in his Preface, made into the history of Christ, were made either in Jerusalem itself or at least somewhere in Palestine, since during his travels in Greece and Asia Minor he had no opportunity of conversing with eye-witnesses to Christ's transactions. Now Troas, a sea-port town of the lesser Phrygia, was the place where St. Luke entered into St. Paul's company, whether St. Luke resided at that time in Troas, or whether only an occasional journey had brought him thither. For St. Luke constantly speaks of St. Paul and his companions in the *third* person before St. Paul's arrival at Troas, Acts xvi. 8. and even his arrival there he relates in the third person, saying, *παρελθόντες δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν κατέβησαν εἰς Τρωάδα*: but the departure from Troas he relates in the *first* person, saying, ver. 11. *αναχθέντες ἐν ἀπο τῆς Τρωάδος εὐδρομήσαμεν εἰς Σαμοθράκην*. After this place St. Luke mentions only two journeys to Judæa, the one in Acts xviii. 22. the other in Acts xxi. 8. On the first of these two journeys St. Luke did not accompany St. Paul, for in relating this journey he uses again the third person: on the second he did accompany St. Paul, for in describing that journey he resumes the first person,

person, saying, ch. xxi. 8. *ηλθομεν εις Καισαρειαν*, and *ανεβαινομεν εις Ιερουσαλημ*. It was at this time, that St. Paul was taken prisoner by the Jews, and was sent by Claudius Lyfias to Felix the Roman governor, who resided at Cæsarea, where St. Paul continued in prison two years till the arrival of Festus, when he was sent to Rome, and was accompanied thither by St. Luke. No doubt therefore can be made, that it was during these two years, which St. Luke spent in Judæa, that he made the diligent inquiries, of which he speaks in his Preface, and at least collected the materials for his Gospel, if he did not draw it up there. Now it appears from the Dissertation on the Origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15—18. that St. Luke procured two Hebrew documents, the one containing a narrative of facts relative to Christ, the other a collection of discourses and parables, but that he had no knowledge of St. Matthew's Gospel. Consequently it is at least highly probable that St. Matthew, who wrote, if not in Jerusalem, at least somewhere in Judæa, as all the ancients are agreed, did not write his Gospel till after St. Luke had left Judæa to accompany St. Paul to Rome: for if St. Matthew's Gospel had existed at the time when St. Luke was in Judæa collecting the materials for his own Gospel, it would hardly have escaped the notice of a writer, who professedly made such diligent inquiries, and who actually procured two other documents on the same subject. This argument then so far confirms the testimony of Irenæus, as it shews that St. Matthew's Gospel was not written till after St. Paul was gone to Rome. But in what particular year it was written after that event, is a question, which involves so many difficulties, that the most prudent part, which we can take, is to confess our inability to determine it.

With respect to the time when the Greek translation was made, all that can be affirmed with certainty is, that it was not made till after the Gospels both of St. Luke and of St. Mark had been written. See the

the Dissertation on the Origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

S E C T. III.

PAGE 113.

1. See Note I. to Sect. vi. of this Chapter.

2. The German title is, *Abhandlung von der Grundsprache des Evangelii Matthæi*.—As our author's inquiry into the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel, which takes up seven entire sections, is, though upon the whole the very best which has been instituted on this subject, in many places prolix and tedious, and, in consequence of its being controversial, abounds with repetitions and digressions, with which the reader may dispense, I have taken the liberty to omit in the translation not only many single sentences, but sometimes whole paragraphs. I have omitted however nothing, which was essential to the subject, as every one will perceive, who compares the original with the translation.

3. The early Protestant writers, who began to contradict the opinion, which had been generally received in the Greek as well as in the Latin church from the second to the fifteenth century, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, appear to have been influenced by party spirit, and a desire of opposing the church of Rome. It is well known that the council of Trent had declared the Latin Vulgate the standard, to which appeal was to be made in all cases of controversy. To this the Protestants objected, and asserted (what however is not true) that no appeal to a translation can be valid. Conscious therefore, that the members of the church of Rome might retort, 'You yourselves are obliged, when you quote from St. Matthew's Gospel, to quote from a translation,' they undertook to defend a perfectly new opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, as well as the other Evangelists; and setting aside the
testimony

testimony of all antiquity, they endeavoured to support their opinion by arguments, which were foreign to a question of historical fact.

PAGE 114.

4. Within these last ten or twelve years, several eminent German critics have declared themselves in favour of the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew: for instance, Adler in his treatise *Nonnulla Matthæi et Marci enunciata*, &c. p. 24.: Eichhorn in his *Univ. Libr. of bibl. literature*, Vol. V. p. 977: Halfeld, *de origine quatuor Evangeliorum*, p. 47: Storr, in his *Design of the Evangelic History*, &c. p. 361: Corrodi, in his *Illustration of the Canon*, Vol. II. p. 152: Bolten, in the Preface to his German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel: J. E. C. Schmidt, in a treatise published in *Henke's Magazine*, Vol. IV. p. 576.

5. Published at Coburg in 1730.

6. Namely, Walton, Cave, Mill, Kidder, and Scott: to whom may be added Williams, who has written 'A dissertation on the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel,' which is prefixed to his 'Free Inquiry into the authenticity of the first and second chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, London, 1789, 8vo. 2d ed.' Dr. Campbell likewise in his excellent Preface to St. Matthew's Gospel, § 2—13. has well argued in favour of the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew.

7. The theological proof, as it is called, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel not in Hebrew, but in Greek, runs thus. The words of the whole New Testament were written by inspiration. Therefore the words of St. Matthew's Gospel were written by inspiration. But if the words of St. Matthew's Gospel were inspired, they must have been written by St. Matthew himself, since if they had proceeded only from a translator, they would not have been inspired.—Now this argument would just as well prove that St. Matthew wrote in English or in French, as that he wrote in Greek.

In

In fact the argument, as our author justly observes in the place to which he refers, contains a glaring *petitio principii*. For if it be admitted that the words used by the Evangelists themselves were inspired, it will follow indeed that the words of St. Matthew's original were inspired: but when the question is in agitation, whether St. Matthew wrote in Greek or in Hebrew, we cannot set out with the proposition that the words of the whole *Greek Testament* were inspired without taking for granted the thing to be proved.

PAGE 116.

8. In fact all such *priori* arguments would just as well prove that the original manuscript in St. Matthew's own hand writing was now extant.

S E C T. IV.

PAGE 117.

1. Dr. Masch (p. 39.) does not give a different interpretation of these words, but only denies the fact, which follows from the interpretation which Simon, Michaelis, and several other eminent critics have put upon them. But that the words of Papias do not imply that several Greek translations were made of St. Matthew's Hebrew original, appears from what has been said in the Dissertation on the origin of our three first Gospels, ch. 15. Note r.

PAGE 121.

2. Namely, in the interpretation of the New Testament; for the Jews had long used allegorical interpretation in the Old Testament. Ernesti, speaking of the interpretation in the Old Testament before the time of Origen, says, ‘Sola relinquebatur interpretatio rerum, quæ ad *οικοδομην* fieret in conventibus sacrorum causâ, atque etiam in libris, quæ *δογματα* et præcepta Christianæ veritatis explicaret, illustraret, et fidem sanctitatemque

titatemque hortando, movendo, consolando aleret ac roboraret, quo genere interpretationis hodie magistri ludorum puerilium, et concionatores populares, et librorum asceticorum scriptores utuntur. In eo sane fuit et semper mansit usus allegoriarum, sed modicus, et qui interpretationi ei quæ proprie dicitur, h. e. grammaticæ, nihil obesset: *donec Origenes, imbutus literis Judaicis, et philosophia Græcanica ingenioque ipse valens, longius progressus allegorias nimis et interdum cum detrimento ac prope perniciæ grammatici sensus persecutus est.* Yet Ernesti in that very dissertation, from which the preceding passage is an extract, § 4. endeavours by an induction to shew, ‘ quicquid vetustas boni habet inter interpretes S. librorum e *genere literali*, et quicquid est in iis boni, id vel prope totum fluxisse ab Origene, vel saltem initia ab Origenis libris habuisse, § 29. and has prefixed to the dissertation the following title, *De Origene interpretationis librorum SS grammaticæ auctore.* This apparent contradiction he reconciles § 31. by saying: *allegoriæ sunt rerum potius quam verborum, nec allegoria quæritur ante, quam sensus verborum per grammaticas artes sit repertus.* He adds however in the same place: *neque tamen is ego sum qui negem nimis longe allegoriarum studio progressum esse Origenem.* The dissertation is printed in Ernesti *Opuscula philologica critica*, ed. 2d. Lugduni Bat. 1776, 8vo.: and I have made the preceding extracts from it, lest the title should induce any one to suppose, that Origen, in the opinion of Ernesti, rejected allegorical interpretation.

PAGE 124.

3. It is the duty of those, who reject the evidence of Irenæus, to prove that it rests only on the authority of Papias, and it is very unjust to require from those, who admit it, a proof of the contrary. Were this demand admitted, the testimonies of the ancients would be so curtailed, as to be reduced almost to nothing: for it would be allowable in no instance whatsoever, to
quote

quote more than *one* ancient writer in favour of the same fact, if the bare *possibility* that the testimony of the one was nothing more than the echo of the testimony given by the other, were a sufficient reason for rejecting that testimony. But this is a consequence, which even they who make the demand do not admit, and therefore shew by their own practice the impropriety of the demand itself. However in the present instance it is not wholly impossible to satisfy the demand, for we can shew that it is highly probable, that Irenæus had the authority of Polycarp for what he has said both of St. Matthew and of the other Apostles. In his third book against heresies, ch. iii. § 4. he speaks of Polycarp in the following manner. Πολυκαρπος δὲ ἔμονον ὑπο ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἑωρακοσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπο ἀποστόλων κατὰσθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωρακαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἱλικίᾳ, κ.τ.λ. And in his Epistle to Florinus, of which Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. 20.) has preserved a fragment, he says, that every thing which he saw and heard delivered by Polycarp, had made such an impression on his memory: ὥστε με δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ καθηζόμενος διελεγέτο ὁ μακάριος Πολυκαρπος, καὶ τὰς προοδὸς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς εἰσοδὸς, καὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα τῶν βίβων, καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἰδέαν, καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ἃς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννη συναναστροφὴν, ὥς ἀπηγγέλλε, καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἑωρακοτῶν τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευε τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν. And a few lines after he adds: ταῦτα δὲ τότε διὰ τὸ ἐλεος τῶν Θεῶν τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γεγονός σπένδαιώς ηἰκνόν, ὑπομνηματίζομενος αὐτὰ, καὶ ἐν χαρτῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ αἰεὶ διὰ τὴν χάριν τῶν Θεῶν γνησίως αὐτὰ αναμνησκώμαι. If then Irenæus had such respect for his master Polycarp, if he fixed in his memory all things, which he heard from him, and, as he himself says, constantly ruminated on them, there is reason to believe that Irenæus has related nothing, either in respect to the Apostles in general, or to St. Matthew in particular, which was inconsistent with what he had heard from Polycarp,

Polycarp. And if he really had his information from Polycarp, his testimony becomes still more important: for since Polycarp, as Irenæus testifies, was conversant with several of the Apostles, and other eye-witnesses to the transactions of Christ, Polycarp must have known, whether St. Matthew's Gospel was written originally in Hebrew, or in Greek. It will be objected perhaps that Polycarp never saw St. Matthew's Gospel, either in the Hebrew or in the Greek, since he has nowhere quoted it by name: and for this reason even Dr. Lesh admits that the quotations of Polycarp, which agree with the text of St. Matthew, do not afford an absolute proof, that Polycarp took them from St. Matthew's Gospel, as I have already observed in the Notes to the first volume of this Introduction, Ch. i. § 2. Note 3. But on the other hand no one can prove, that Polycarp did *not* quote from St. Matthew's Gospel: and since he has really quoted in his Epistle to the Philipppians (see Lardner's Works, Vol. II. p. 92. ed. 1788.) several passages with the following formule, *ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Κυριος*, or *καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κυριος*, which passages are contained in St. Matthew's Gospel, it is more reasonable to suppose that Polycarp copied them from St. Matthew's Gospel, though he has not expressly said so, than that he received them from oral tradition, or that he took them from some other document, which is now lost. Besides, though in the single Epistle to the Philipppians, which is all that is now extant of Polycarp's works, the Gospel of St. Matthew is not mentioned by name, and even though it were true, which however no one can prove, that Polycarp has not quoted it in that single Epistle, it would be very unfair to conclude that he never quoted it in any other work, and still more so, to conclude that he had no knowledge of it. On the contrary, Polycarp's connexions were such, that if St. Matthew wrote a Gospel at all, Polycarp must not only have known it, but must have known likewise in what language St. Matthew wrote it. We are reduced therefore to this dilemma. Either

the Gospel attributed to St. Matthew is a forgery in his name, and written after the apostolic age, or Polycarp was able to communicate to Irenæus the necessary information about it. But in the former case Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, could never have imagined that St. Matthew was the author of it. Consequently Polycarp was able to communicate to Irenæus the necessary information relative to St. Matthew's Gospel: and therefore it is highly probable that Irenæus learnt from Polycarp, that St. Matthew's Gospel was written originally in Hebrew.

PAGE 126.

4. Catal. Script. Ecclef. cap. 36. Tom. IV. P. ii. p. 111. ed. Martianay.

PAGE 128.

5. See Suiceri Thesaurus, Tom. II. p. 576.

PAGE 132.

6. Tom. IV. P. ii. p. 102. ed. Martianay.

PAGE 133.

7. In the place quoted by our author in Note *k*.

SECT. V.

PAGE 137.

1. Origen's own words (Tom. III. 671. ed. Delarue) are: *δηλονοτι πολλη γεγονεν η των αντιγραφων διαφορα, εις απο ραθυμιας τινων γραφειν, εις απο τολμης τινων μοχθηρας της διορθωσεως των γραφομενων, εις και απο των τα ενυλοις δοκενλα εν τη διορθωσει προστιθειντων η αφαιρειντων.* But what gives the greatest weight to the objection now under consideration, Origen immediately adds: *την μεν εν εν τοις ανιγραφοις της παλαιας διαθηκης διαφωνιαν θες διδουλος, ευρομεν ιασασθαι, κρηνην χρησαμενοι ταις λοιπαις εκδοσεσιν· των γαρ αμφιβαλλομενων παρα τοις εβδομη*
κοιλα

κονία δια την των ἀντίγραφων διαφωνίαν, την κρίσιν ποιησάμενος των λοιπών εκδόσεων το συναδόν εκείνοις εφύλαξαμεν, και τινά μεν ωβελίσσαμεν εν τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ μη καίμενα, μη τολμήσαντες αὐτά πανήν περιελαιν· τινά δε μετ' ασερισκῶν προσεθηκαμεν, ινα δῆλον ᾗ ὅτι μη καίμενα παρὰ τοις ἑβδομηκονία εκ των λοιπων εκδόσεων συμφωνως τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ προσεθηκαμεν. By this observation Origen virtually confesses that he had no Hebrew original, by which he could correct the Greek text of St. Matthew's Gospel, as he had corrected the Greek text of the Septuagint by the Hebrew Bible.

2. The objection, which our author here combats, was first made by Lardner, from whom Masch probably borrowed it. See Lardner's Works, Vol. II. p. 542. ed. 1788.

3. Jerom in his third book against the Pelagians (Tom. IV. P. ii. p. 533.) says, ' In Evangelio *juxta Hebræos*, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, *secundum Apostolos*, sive, ut plerique autumant, *juxta Matthæum*, &c.:' and in his Catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, under the article Jacobus (Ib. p. 102.) he says, ' Evangelium quoque, quod appellatur *secundum Hebræos*, et a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque sermonem translatum est, quo et Origines sæpe utitur, &c. From these two passages it appears that Origen, in several parts of his works, had quoted from a Hebrew Gospel, called the ' Gospel according to the Hebrews,' that the same Gospel had likewise the appellation of the ' Gospel according to the Apostles,' and moreover that it was supposed by many, at least in the time of Jerom, to have been no other than the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew. Further, among the works of Origen now extant, which are very few in comparison of what he wrote, there are still two passages, in which he has quoted this Gospel, which he himself calls το καθ' Ἑβραϊκῆς ευαγγελιον. See Grabe Spicilegium Patrum, Tom. I. p. 26, 27. It is certain therefore, that Origen not only possessed, but occasionally quoted a Hebrew Gospel, which among other titles

titles had that of St. Matthew's Gospel: and it is likewise certain that Origen has not applied this Hebrew Gospel in the correction of those passages in the Greek text, on which he himself entertained a doubt.

4. See the following Note.

PAGE 138.

5. But if Origen really believed that the first of our canonical Gospels was a Greek translation of *that* Hebrew Gospel, which he himself has quoted by the title το καθ' Ἑβραϊς ευαγγελιον, he certainly would have appealed to the Hebrew, wherever he entertained doubts in respect to the Greek text, for the very same reason that he appealed to the Hebrew Bible in doubtful passages of the Septuagint. But the fact is, Origen did not believe, that the first of our canonical Gospels was a Greek translation of *that* Hebrew Gospel, or rather he knew that it was not. His very neglect to appeal to it in doubtful passages of the Greek text is alone sufficient proof of this assertion: and it is fully confirmed by the fragments, which are still extant of the Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Besides, Origen in a place where he quotes the Gospel according to the Hebrews, says, ' si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud non ad auctoritatem, sed ad manifestationem propositæ quæstionis.' See Grabe Spicilegium, Tom. I. p. 26. It is true that this passage no longer exists in the Greek text: but the other quotation, which Grabe has likewise proposed, does exist in the Greek, and this quotation Origen likewise introduces in a similar manner, saying, εαν δε προσιειται τις το καθ' Ἑβραϊς ευαγγελιον. Nor did Jerom believe, or at least he was not convinced, that this Gospel was St. Matthew's original: for in that case he would not merely have said of it, ' quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum,' and ' ut plerique

* The most complete collection of these fragments is in Jones's New and full method of settling the canonical authority of the New Testament, Vol. I. p. 330—350.

antumant, juxta Matthæum,' (Tom. IV. P. i. p. 47. P. ii. p. 533. ed. Martianay). Besides, since Jerom translated this Gospel both into Greek and into Latin, there must have been a material difference between the contents of this Gospel and the contents of our first canonical Gospel: and though the former had probably much matter in common with the latter, in the same manner as the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke have, yet on the other hand the former must have had much matter, which was not contained in the latter, as is the case likewise with the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke. For unless this were true, Jerom's translation of the former would have been unnecessary. Had the difference between these Gospels consisted merely in a few variations, such as arise from a multiplication of copies of the *same* work, Jerom's object would have been attained by a bare notation of those variations; and moreover in that case he would have more frequently appealed to the Hebrew in his Commentary on St. Matthew.

But from these concessions the advocates for the opinion that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel not in Hebrew, but in Greek, can derive no advantage whatsoever. For though Origen did not believe, that our first canonical Gospel was a Greek translation of *that* Hebrew Gospel, which he has quoted by the title το καθ' Ἑβραϊσὺς εὐαγγέλιον, it cannot be thence inferred, that in Origen's opinion it was translated from *no* Hebrew Gospel: and though he did not believe that St. Matthew wrote the Hebrew Gospel καθ' Ἑβραϊσὺς, we cannot thence infer, that in Origen's opinion St. Matthew wrote no Hebrew Gospel at all. Even therefore if Origen had said nothing further on this subject, he could not be quoted in favour of the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Greek: and since he has declared elsewhere in the most unequivocal manner, that St. Matthew really wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, it cannot be a matter of doubt on which side of the question Origen decides.

It is true that there is one passage in Origen's works (De Oratione, cap. 27. Tom. I. p. 245. ed. Delarue), which appears at first sight to imply, that in Origen's opinion St. Matthew wrote in Greek, and is quoted for that purpose by Lardner, Vol. II. p. 541. ed. 1788. In this passage Origen speaks of the word *ἐπισσιος*, which occurs in the Lord's Prayer, Matth. vi. 11. and Luke xi. 3. Of this word Origen says, *πρωτον δε τῆς ἰσεον, ὅτι η λεξις ἡ Ἐπισσιον παρ' ἑδενι των Ἑλληνων ἔτε των σοφων ὠνομασαι' ἔτε εν τη των ιδιωτων συνηθειᾳ τετριπται, ἀλλ' εοικε πεπλασθαι ὑπο των Ευαγγελισων· συνηνεχθησαν γαρ ὁ Ματθαιος και ὁ Λευκας, κ.τ.λ.* Hence it has been inferred, that in Origen's opinion St. Matthew *himself* used the word *ἐπισσιος*, and therefore that he wrote in Greek. But that this inference is without foundation appears from what Origen says a few lines afterwards: *ισομοια τη Ἐπισσιῳ προσηγορια εἰς παρὰ Μωυση γεγραμμενη, ὑπο Θεοεξηρημενη· Ὑμεις δε εσεσθε μοι λαος περισιος.* These Greek words are taken from the Septuagint, Exod. xix. 5. which Origen certainly did not suppose were written by Moses. If Origen then could quote these *Greek* words, and call them *προσηγορια παρὰ Μωυση γεγραμμενη*, his quotation of *ἐπισσιος* from St. Matthew's Gospel no more proves that in Origen's opinion St. Matthew himself (and not his translator) used that word, than his quotation of *περισιος* from Exod. xix. 5. can prove that in Origen's opinion Moses himself used *περισιος*. In like manner the Latin fathers, when they quote the words of the Vulgate, speak of them as the words of the Evangelists. But if a Latin father should say, that in the Lord's Prayer both St. Matthew and St. Luke have the expression '*panis super substantialis*,' or an English commentator, that they have the expression '*daily bread*,' no man would conclude that in the opinion of the former the Evangelists wrote in Latin, or that in the opinion of the latter they wrote in English. It is a lax mode of speaking adopted by writers of every age and nation, and is very admissible, when the

the question does not immediately relate to the original language of the Gospels.

PAGE 139.

6. The-Greek text of this passage has been quoted in Note 1.

7. Our author's mode of reasoning on the passage, which he has quoted from Origen, is very unsatisfactory: and he himself appears to be not quite satisfied with it, if we may judge from the doubtful manner, in which he expresses himself in the last sentence. The real cause, why Origen did not appeal to the Hebrew Gospel καθ' Ἑβραϊσὶς has been already assigned in Note 5: where it has been likewise shewn that no inference can be deduced in favour of the opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek.

PAGE 140.

8. Origen's own words (Tom. III. p. 932. ed. Delarue) are, Ματθαῖος καὶ ἐπεχείρησεν ἀλλ' ἐγράψεν ἐξ ἁγίου κινεμενος πνευματος· ὁμοίως καὶ Μαρκος καὶ Ἰωάννης, παρὰ πλησίως δὲ καὶ Λουκᾶς· τὸ μὲντοι ἐπιγεγραμμενὸν κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμενὸν τῶν δώδεκα εὐαγγέλιον οἱ συγγραψάντες ἐπεχείρησαν. This is the text of the Benedictine edition: but in the text quoted by Simon (Hist. des Comment. ch.v. p. 82.) from Greek manuscripts, the words ἐπιγεγραμμενὸν κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸ are omitted. Perhaps, however, the omission arose from a mere oversight, and was occasioned by the homœoteleuton.

9. See Note 3.

10. The Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Gospel according to the Twelve were, according to Jerom, one and the same Gospel: and that Origen did not consider the Gospel according to the Hebrews as St. Matthew's original, appears from Note 5.

PAGE 141.

11. In the Dissertation on the origin of our three first Gospels, ch. xv. it is shewn that a Hebrew document, which is there denoted by N, formed the basis of our three first Gospels. It is not improbable that the same document was the ground-work of the Gospel καθ' Εξουσιαν, and that this Gospel was afterwards confounded with the Hebrew Gospel written by St. Matthew, because both of them were used by inhabitants of Judæa, were written in the same language, and contained, probably, much matter in common with each other. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the Gospel καθ' Εξουσιαν was, as used by the Nazarenes in the first century, St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel itself: but that so many alterations and additions had been made in the copies of it before the time of Origen, that it ceased to deserve the title, which was originally due to it, and that on this account Origen did not consider it as St. Matthew's original.

12. The same argument had been used by Lardner. See his Works, Vol. IV. p. 264. ed. 1788.

S E C T. VI.

PAGE 143.

1. The second and improved edition of our author's Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews was published at Francfort in two volumes, 4to. in 1780 and 1786, under the title Erklärung des Briefs an die Hebräer. To the first volume is prefixed an Introduction to this Epistle. In § 11. to which he alludes, he first quotes the Chaldee words σαβαχθανι, Matth. xxvii. 46. ταλιθα, Mark v. 41. Αββα, Mark xiv. 36. Βηθισδα, John v. 2. Γαββαθα, John xix. 13. Γολγοθα, ver. 17. to prove that Chaldee was spoken in Palestine in the time of Christ and his Apostles. (We may add, likewise, that the Evangelists themselves have expressly testified, that
Christ,

Christ, in his familiar conversation with the Jews, used the Aramæan language. For instance, Mark v. 41. Λεγει αυτη· Ταλιθα κημι. Mark vii. 34. Λεγει αυτω, Εφφαθα. Mark iii. 17. Επεθηκεν αυτοις ονοματα Βοανεργες. But if Christ in his familiar conversation with the Jews used the Aramæan, it necessarily follows that this was their vernacular language at that time). He further observes, that two Chaldee paraphrases, those of Onkelos and Jonathan, were then in use in Palestine: and that when St. Paul addressed a large assembly of the Jews at Jerusalem, he addressed them, not in Greek, but as St. Luke expressed it, Acts xxi. 40. xxii. 2. τη Ἑβραϊᾷ διαλεκτῷ, that is, not in the ancient Hebrew of the Old Testament, but in the dialect, which was called Chaldee, or East Aramæan. He then confutes the arguments, which had been alleged by Isaac Vossius, to prove that the vernacular language of Palestine at that time was Greek. These arguments are five in number. 1. The Romans endeavoured to extirpate the language of every country, which they conquered. 2. The Jews could not dispense with the Greek language in contracts, testaments, and courts of justice. 3. Two living languages cannot exist at the same time, in the same place: therefore the old vernacular language must have become extinct. 4. The dominion of the Macedonian kings in Syria, had introduced the Greek language into that country, whence it spread into Palestine. 5. Theodoret relates, that no Jewish children learnt to speak Hebrew, but the language of the country where they were born.—To the two first arguments our author very properly replies, that, if they proved any thing, they would prove, not that Greek, but that Latin was substituted in place of the Chaldee. The third is no new argument, but contains only an inference, founded on the supposition, that Greek was become the vernacular language of Palestine. Besides, it is not true that two living languages cannot exist at the same time, in the same place, as every man who has travelled knows

knows by experience. The fourth argument shews only that Greek was the language spoken at the court of the Seleucidæ, and the principal towns of Syria: but Syriac still continued to be spoken in the country. Much less did the Greek supersede the vernacular language of Palestine. As to the fifth argument, what Theodoret says of the Jewish children, relates only to the age, in which he himself lived, and moreover to Jewish children born in foreign countries. The arguments therefore of Isaac Vossius are of no value whatsoever. For further information on this subject see Simon Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T. ch. vi. and Walton's Prol. xiii. In the year 1767, Diodati published a short tract at Naples, entitled, *De Christo Græce loquente exercitatio, qua ostenditur, græcam sive hellenisticam linguam cum Judæis omnibus, tum ipsi adeo Christo nativam ac vernaculam fuisse*. But Diodati's arguments are neither new nor solid: and they have been fully confuted by Ernesti in his *Neueste theologische Bibliothek*, Vol. I. p. 269—278. That the Greek Bible was sometimes read in the synagogues of Judea, cannot be denied, as appears from the following passage quoted by Buxtorf in his *Lexicon Talm. Rabbinicum*, from the Talmud of Jerusalem. “Rabbi Levi ivit Cæsaream, audiensque eos legentes lectionem ‘Audi Israel,’ Deut. vi. Hellenistice, voluit impedire ipsos.” But nothing more appears from this passage, than that the Greek Bible was read in Cæsarea, which was a sea-port town, the resort of strangers of all nations: and the very surprize and displeasure expressed by Rabbi Levi proves, that he had not been accustomed to hear it in other synagogues of Judea. In fact the Targum, or Chaldee version, was to the Jews of Jerusalem, what the Septuagint was to the Jews of Alexandria.

2. Even if it be true, that there were synagogues in Jerusalem, where the Old Testament was read, not in the Chaldee, but in the Greek version, we cannot thence infer,

infer, that Greek was generally spoken in Jerufalem. We might as well conclude that German was univerfally underftood in London, becaufe there are German chapels there.

PAGE 144.

3. The Syriac version itfelf is an additional proof: for if Greek was become the vernacular language of Syria, there could have been no neceffity for a Syriac tranflation of the Greek Testament. Greek was the language of the court of Antioch under the reign of the Seleucidæ: but the common people ftill retained the language of their anceftors. It was the fame in Egypt, where the Greek fpoken at Alexandria did not eradicate the language of the country. Hence it was neceffary to make a Coptic verſion. But if in Syria and Egypt, where Greek princes reigned, the Greek language did not become univerfal, how can it be expected to have become ſo in Paleſtine? With reſpect to the ſacred writers, it muſt be obſerved, that St. Paul was a native of Tarſus, where Greek was ſpoken, that St. John ſpent the latter part of his life either at Ephelus or in ſome other Greek town, that St. Luke, if not born in a Greek country, ſpent at leaſt the greater part of his life where Greek was ſpoken, that St. Mark and St. Peter travelled likewise in Greek countries. But St. Matthew never travelled into countries, where Greek was the vernacular language.

PAGE 145.

4. On this ſubject ſee the Diſſertation on the origin of the three firſt Goſpels, ch. 15. Note 7.

S E C T. VII.

PAGE 146.

1. This whole section is in the German original so very prolix, and so abounds with repetitions, and with answers to objections, which are not worth examination, that I have taken the liberty of giving only an abridgement of it. Nothing however of the least importance is omitted.

PAGE 147.

2. In the place to which our author refers his readers for further information on this subject, we find hardly any thing that is satisfactory. The true reason, why the Syrians translated the Gospel of St. Matthew from the Greek, is that the canon, or collection of writings, which constitute the New Testament, had been formed, before the Syriac version was made: and this canon contained, not the Hebrew, but the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew.

PAGE 148.

3. Thus in the Latin Vulgate, Apoc. ix. 11. where the Greek text is, *ονομα αυτω εβραισι Αβαδδων, και εν τη ελληνικη ονομα εχει Απολλυων*, the Latin translator, after having rendered these words by ‘cui nomen Hebraice Abaddon, Græce autem Apollyon,’ has added, for the benefit of Latin readers, *Latine habens nomen Exterminans*.

4. Some years ago were published in London two volumes of sermons without the author's name on the title page. In these sermons the texts of scripture are quoted in the words of the established version: yet this will not prove, that the sermons were written originally in English, for they were translated from the German
of

of Zollikofer. On the same ground likewise might be argued that my translation of Michaelis is an original, because I have used the words of the established English version, in places where the author himself had quoted that of Luther.

PAGE 152.

5. When the Latin fathers quoted the Gospel of St. John, for instance, in the Latin version, they considered the words which they quoted, as words of holy scripture, as much as the Greek fathers did, when they quoted the words of the Greek original. And the same is true likewise when an English divine quotes a passage from St. John's Gospel in the English version. When the Greek fathers therefore confidently quote the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew as a part of Holy Scripture, we can no more infer that they therefore supposed it to have been written originally in Greek, than we can infer, that the Gospel of St. John was supposed by the Latin fathers to have been written originally in Latin.

PAGE 154.

6. That this solution is the true one, appears from the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15. A minute examination therefore of the various reading in Zech. iii. 7. Matth. xxvi. 31. Mark xiv. 27. is unnecessary.

S E C T. VIII.

PAGE 155.

1. In the place, to which our author refers, he conjectures that St. Matthew wrote בִּנְשֵׁף שָׁבַת in ch. xxviii. 1.; that he used נִשְׁף in the sense of ‘the morning twilight,’ and thus agreed with the other Evangelist; but that his translator understood it of ‘the evening twilight,’ which sense it likewise bears, and thus rendered it by *ψη*. Bolten, in his Note to this passage, supposes, that the words of the original were שְׁבָחוֹת מְקֻצָּה, which is literally ‘a fine sabbatorium,’ and agrees with the expression used by St. Mark διαγενομενης τε σαββατου.

2. Our author here observes that δικαιωματα is used 1 Maccab. i. 13. 51. ii. 21. and also Heb. ix. 1. 10. to denote ‘religious ceremonies.’—Perhaps the word acquired this sense in Hellenistic Greek from the supposition that the Jews were rendered just and good men merely by their religious ceremonies.

3. חק, which signifies a ‘religious ordinance,’ is very frequently translated in the Septuagint by δικαιωμα, but never by δικαιουσυνη.

4. See Schleusner’s Lexicon on this word.

PAGE 156.

5. It is difficult to comprehend in what our author’s explanation differs from the common one.

6. The difference is merely in the punctuation: Sing. emph. *ܕܐܡܢܐ*; dæmoniacus: Plur. emph. *ܕܐܡܢܐ*; dæmoniaci.

7. But in Chaldee the plural emphatic ends in Aleph, as well as in Syriac.

PAGE 157.

8. מָתָה 3 sing. perf. fœm. signifies 'mortua est:'
מָתָה part. fœm. signifies 'moriens.'

9. Not both of the other two Evangelists, namely, St. Mark and St. Luke, have used the present tense. The former alone has *εσχάτως έχει*: the latter, though he has not *ετελευτήσε*, as in the Greek text of St. Matthew, has the perfectly synonymous expression *απεθνήσκει*.

PAGE 160.

10. Our author's object is to explain in what manner a Chaldee expression might have given rise to the two Greek readings, *ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμενον*, Matth. xxvii. 34. and *οἶνος εσμυρνισμενος*, Mark xv. 23. But his conjecture *במריא חליא* by no means answers the purpose, for which it was made. For though *חליא* signifies 'dulcis,' yet when used without *חמר*, it does not signify '*vinum dulce*;' and *מריא* does not signify 'myrrha,' but only 'fel.' His supposed Chaldee reading, therefore, cannot possibly have given rise to *οἶνος εσμυρνισμενος* in St. Mark's text. Nor is his construction of *חליא*, so as to make it accord with the Greek text of St. Matthew, correct, though it is true that *חליא* signifies '*acetum*.' Other critics have had recourse to *מר חליא*. But here the same objection to *חליא* occurs as before: and as to *מר*, which is substituted in the place of *מריא*, though it might have given rise to the reading *εσμυρνισμενος* in St. Mark's text, it cannot well have been rendered by *χολη* in the Greek text of St. Matthew, because *מר* does not signify 'fel,' but 'myrrha.' Appeal indeed has been made to the following passages in the Septuagint, Deut. xxix. 18. xxxii. 32. Jerem. viii. 14. ix. 15. (compared with xxix. 18.) Lament. iii. 13.) Now it is true that *χολη* is used in these passages of the Septuagint: but that it is a translation of *מר* is a mistake, for in every one

one of them is a translation of ראש.—If the different expressions οινος εσμυρνισμενος, and οξος μετα χολης μεμιγμενον, are to be explained on the supposition of a common Chaldee original, we must endeavour to find a Chaldee word for οινος, which may be easily mistaken for one that denotes οξος, and likewise a Chaldee word, which signifies σμυρνα, which may be easily mistaken for one that denotes χολη. Now חמר, or חמרא, really denotes οινος, and חמץ or חמצא really denotes οξος. Again, מורא really signifies σμυρνα, and מררא really signifies χολη. If then we suppose, that the original Chaldee text was חמרא הליט במורא, ‘vinum mixtum myrrha,’ οινος εσμυρνισμενος, which is not at all improbable, as it is the reading of the Syriac version at Mark xv. 23. ܡܪܪܐ ܠܝܬ ܒܡܪܪܐ ܕܡܝܪܪܐ ܕܡܝܪܪܐ, it might easily have been mistaken for חמצא הליט במררא, ‘acetum mixtum felle,’ and translated οξος μετα χολης μεμιγμενον.—If an objection be made to the supposed exchange of חמרא for חמצא, though no one can object to the supposition that במורא was mistaken for במררא, on account of the great similarity between ו and ר, letters which have been very frequently confounded, another conjecture may be proposed, namely, that the Chaldee text was חמר בסים במורא. Now בסים may be either the participle Pehil of the verb בסם, in which case it denotes ‘aromatibus conditus,’ or it may be taken as a noun substantive, in which case it has the sense of ‘acetum.’ If it be taken in the former sense, the Chaldee text will be rendered by ‘vinum conditum myrrha,’ which is again οινος εσμυρνισμενος. If it be taken in the latter sense, and ו be mistaken for ר in the last word, חמר בסים במררא will be rendered by ‘acetum cum felle,’ or οξος μετα χολης. Again, though חמר, when read חמר, and used as a substantive, signifies ‘vinum,’ yet if it be read חמר, it is the participle Benoni of the verb חמר, which signifies ‘turbidum fieri,’ to which the idea expressed by μιγνυσθαι is closely allied. But no translator, who took בסים in the
sense

sense of 'acetum,' could at the same time take חֶמֶר in the sense of 'vinum.'—Which of the two conjectures is the most probable, or the least improbable, I leave to the learned to determine.

S E C T. IX.

PAGE 162.

1. The German title of this work is, Walch's Vollständige Historie der Ketzereyen. Göttingen, 1762—1780. 10 Vols. 8vo.

2. This derivation was given by Epiphanius Hæres. XXX. 1.: but it does not appear, that he had any historical authority for it.

3. Some few perhaps, as Symmachus for instance, but certainly not the generality of them: and therefore to the Ebionites in general a Greek Gospel would have been unintelligible.

PAGE 163.

4. We ought rather to say, they were denounced as heretics in the second century: for the Nazarenes at least *existed* without doubt in the first century.

PAGE 164.

5. See the latter part of Note 5. to Vol. III. Ch. ii. Sect. 6. of this Introduction.

PAGE 165.

6. Jerom (De vir. illustr. Cap. 2.) speaking of the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, says, 'quo et Origenes sæpe utitur.'

7. He translated it both into Greek and into Latin: for he says in the place quoted in the preceding note, 'a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque sermonem translatum est.' That he translated into Greek appears also from the passage quoted by our author in Note b.

PAGE 166.

8. Epiphanii Hæres. XXIX. 9. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβραὰμ ἀχρὶ Χριστοῦ περιειλον.

PAGE 167.

9. It is true that in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, Judah and Judæa are both expressed by יהודה. But if the term ‘Hebrew’ be applied to the Gospel of the Nazarenes, it is equivalent to the term ‘Chaldee’: and in Chaldee and Syriac, Judah and Judæa were distinguished, the former being written ܐܝܘܕܐ, the latter ܝܘܕܝܐ, without Aleph. At least in the Syriac version of the New Testament, *Iudæa* is always expressed by ܝܘܕܝܐ, and *Iudæa* is always expressed by ܝܘܕܝܐ, (See for instance Matth. ii. 1. 22. iii. 1. 5. iv. 25. xix. 1. xxiv. 16.) except in one single instance, namely, Matth. ii. 5. where there is ܝܘܕܝܐ: ܝܘܕܝܐ, as if the Greek were, not Βηθλεεμ της Ιουδαίας, but Βηθλεεμ Ιουδα. In Matth. ii. 6. where the Greek is γῆ Ιουδα, we again find ܝܘܕܝܐ in the Syriac.

10. This is impossible: for Jerom’s observation is made not on γῆ Ιουδα, ver. 6. but on Βηθλεεμ της Ιουδαίας, ver. 5. where he proposed likewise to read Ιουδα, and really altered the Latin version to Bethlehem Judæ, which is the reading of the Vulgate at this very day. Since therefore Jerom expressly declares that where Βηθλεεμ Ιουδαίας was the reading of the Greek text, Βηθλεεμ Ιουδα was the reading of the Hebrew (that is, Chaldee) text; since *Iudæa* and *Iudæa* are distinctly expressed in Syriac and Chaldee; and since the Syriac version at Matth. ii. 5. has the very reading, which Jerom says he saw in the Chaldee, (for ‘in ipso Hebraico’, here signifies ‘in ipso Chaldaico’), there is no necessity for having recourse to violent conjectures; and we may safely conclude, that Jerom really meant the Chaldee (or, as the fathers call it, Hebrew) Gospel of the Nazarenes, and consequently that this Gospel contained at least the second, if not the first chapter of St. Matthew.

PAGE

PAGE 168.

11. It is really doing violence to the construction to refer the relative 'quo' to any other antecedent than 'volumine', which immediately precedes it; and the only reason, why a doubt has arisen on this subject, is that a full stop has been falsely placed after 'fuit', whereas there ought to be only a comma. If the passage were pointed thus, no one would remain in doubt. *Mihi quoque a Nazaræis, qui in Beræa, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit, in quo animadvertendum, quod ubicunque Evangelista, &c.* Another reason for referring 'quo' to 'volumine' is, that Jerom has used the relative 'quod' in the sentence immediately preceding, and referred it to 'evangelium.'—This passage therefore, as well as the preceding, affords a proof that Jerom found at least the second chapter of St. Matthew in the Gospel of the Nazarenes.

12. Where our author has not mentioned the place in Jerom's works, the quotations from the Gospel of the Nazarenes must be sought in the respective places of his commentary on St. Matthew.

PAGE 173.

13. The words of the Hebrew, 2 Chron. xxiv. 17. are *כתובים על-מדרש ספר המלכים*, scripta in commentario (Medrash) libri regum.

PAGE 174.

14. Namely, no where in the Old Testament: but then we must not forget that Zacharias the son of Barachias, and the eleventh of the minor Prophets, lived after the captivity, at a time when the history of the Old Testament had ceased. The Jews however had a tradition, that *this* Zacharias was likewise murdered in the temple, as appears from the Targum at Lament. ii. 20. 'Interfecistis Zachariam, filium Iddo, summum sacerdotem et prophetam fidelem, in domo sanctuarii, die expiationis.' See Wetstein's Note to Matth. xxiii. 35. It

is true that Iddo was the father of Barachias, and therefore in strictness the grandfather of Zacharias, the eleventh of the minor Prophets (Zach. i. 1): but this lax mode of expression in genealogies was very common among the Jews. Now if it be true, that Zacharias, the son of Barachias, and the eleventh of the minor Prophets, was murdered in the temple, it was more suitable to Christ's purpose to instance the murder of *him*, than that of Zacharias, the son of Jehoiada, who lived three hundred years before: for when he said, 'from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zacharias,' he evidently meant to give the *first* and the *last* instance of murder committed on the holy persons, whose names are mentioned in the Old Testament.

15. It might have been well known, though not recorded in the Old Testament. Indeed our author himself, as appears from the Note *u*, seems to have altered his opinion.

PAGE 176.

16. Our author himself has given only a German translation, for which I have substituted the Greek of Epiphanius.

PAGE 179.

17. The passage in question is quoted by Epiphanius in the very next section, with the addition of *ἐπι αρχιερωσ καιαφα*, after *Ἡρωδης βασιλεως της Ιουδαίας*, which seems to render the mistake, of which our author complains, still more extraordinary. But it is really incredible, that any such mistake should have existed in the Hebrew Gospel used by the Ebionites: for no inhabitant of Judæa, whether an Ebionite, or of any other sect, who undertook to write a life of Christ, could have imagined, that Herod the Great, the king of Judæa, who died soon after the birth of Christ, was alive thirty years afterwards, when John the Baptist began to preach. In the Ebionite Gospel therefore *Ἡρωδης βασιλεως* must have been used to denote, not Herod the Great, but
Herod

Herod Antipas, who though properly only *Tetrarch* of Galilee, is frequently called βασιλεὺς even in our canonical Gospels. See for instance Matth. xiv. 9. Mark vi. 14. 22. 25—27. Our author's supposition therefore that the present passage in the Ebionite Gospel was put together from Luke i. 5. iii. 1—3. is devoid of foundation: and in other respects it cannot be supposed that a *Hebrew* Gospel was compounded of scraps from a *Greek* Gospel. With respect to Ἰσθαίως which follows βασιλεως, it is certainly a mistake, since Herod Antipas was sovereign of Galilee, and not of Judæa. But no dependance can be placed on the quotation of Epiphanius, not only because he quotes the same passage differently within the compass of two sections, but because he quotes the Ebionite Gospel, not for a critical, but for a polemical purpose, and, as he himself acknowledges §. 14. merely in order to expose it.

18. Such a minute and anxious composition of single words from different places is highly improbable. Though in the Greek Testament the expressions πνεῦμα Θεοῦ and πνεῦμα ἁγίου are generally used singly, and we do not meet with πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἁγίου, yet this compound expression was not unusual in Chaldee. See for instance Daniel ch. iv. where רוח אלהין קדושין occurs several times, and is rendered in the Septuagint by πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἁγίου,

PAGE 180.

19. But Justin Martyr has twice quoted them from the Ἀπομνημονευμαῖα τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Dialog. cum Tryphone p. 316. 331. ed. Colon. They are quoted also by Clement of Alexandria, Lib. I. pædag. cap. 6. Even in the Codex Bezae they are found, a prima manu, at Luke iii. 22. though not at Matth. iii. 17.

20. Perhaps the Greek text given by Epiphanius was ὁ ἰδὼν.

21. In the Ebionite Gospel are recorded three exclamations as uttered at the baptism of Christ: 1. Σὺ με εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ἠνδοκῆσα. 2. Ἐγὼ σημερὸν γεγεννηκα σε.

3. Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπῆλος, ἐφ' ᾧν ηὐδοκῆσα. On the other hand, according to St. Matthew and St. Luke, only *one* exclamation was uttered, which the latter has delivered in the second person as in the Ebionite Gospel No. 1, the former in the third person as in the Ebionite Gospel No. 3. But does it thence follow, that the Ebionite Gospel was put together from the texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke? At any rate the exclamation No. 2. cannot have been taken from those Gospels.

PAGE 182.

22. He does not declare that it was really St. Matthew's *unadulterated* original. Indeed, if he had supposed so, he could not have used at other times the expressions 'quod *vocatur* a plerisque Matthæi authenticum,' and, 'ut plerique *autumant* juxta Matthæum.'

23. ΕΠΙΣΤΙΟΣ exactly corresponds to מִתְּרֵי, if ἀέλος ἐπιστίος denotes ἀέλος τῆς ἐπιστῆς ἡμέρας, as Fischer contends in his *Prolusiones de vitiiis Lexicorum*. N. T. p. 314.

PAGE 185.

24. Here likewise our author has given only a German translation, for which I have substituted Eusebius's own words, which it is absolutely necessary to know, in order to form a right judgement of them.

PAGE 187.

25. Indeed it was wholly impossible that he should: for he expressly says in the place in question, that the books which he calls ἀποτα κ. τ. λ. had been quoted by no ecclesiastical writer, which is not true of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

PAGE 188.

26. On the contrary, it is highly improbable, if not impossible that the Nazarenes, who were unacquainted with Greek, should interpolate in their Hebrew (Chaldee) Gospel a passage from a *Greek* Epistle, and moreover from an Epistle to the people of Smyrna, which was so far

far distant from Judæa, that the Nazarenes in all probability not only never saw, but never heard of the Epistle, which Ignatius sent hither.

PAGE 189.

27. Our author here argues, as if he were acquainted with the original text of the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes at this passage, imagining that the Latin words used by Jerom are a literal translation of the Hebrew. But the Latin words used by Jerom, which our author has neglected to quote, are manifestly a translation of the Greek quotation of Ignatius. In his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, speaking of Ignatius and the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, he says, ‘In qua (scil. epistola ad Smyrnæos) et de evangelio, quod nuper a me translatum est, super persona Christi ponit testimonium *dicens*: Ego vero et post resurrectionem in carne eum vidi, et credo quia sit. Et quando venit ad Petrum, et ad eos qui cum Petro erant, &c.’ The word *dicens* clearly shews that Jerom gave a translation of the words used by Ignatius. Another proof that Jerom translated from the Greek words of Ignatius, is that he has used ‘vidi,’ where Ignatius has *οἶδα*. He confounded *εἶδω* ‘scio’ with *εἶδω* ‘video,’ whereas the dissimilarity between the Hebrew words for scio and video must have prevented any such mistake.—But though Jerom, when he wrote his account of Ignatius, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, did not immediately examine the very words of the Gospel of the Nazarenes (provided he had then access to it), still he might recollect, that the substance of the passage stood in that Gospel, and therefore his testimony is not to be rejected.

28. It was quoted by several of the early fathers. That it was quoted by Ignatius appears from the two preceding notes: and according to Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. 39. iv. 22.) it was quoted by Papias and Hegesippus. It was quoted also by Clement of Alexandria and Origen. See the quotations in Grabe’s *Spicilegium Patrum*. Tom. I. p. 26. 27.

29. The Gospel of the Nazarenes was *become* unusual at the end of the fourth century: but in the second century it might have been, and probably was, very common in Palestine.

PAGE 190.

30. See Notes 26. 27.

PAGE 192.

31. On the present subject in general, see the Essay on the origin of our three first Gospels, ch. 15.

PAGE 192.

32. Epiphanius expressly says (Hæres. XXX. 13.) that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Ebionites *began* with the words, Εγενέτο εν ταις ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως. *Their* Gospel therefore contained no part of Matth. i. ii. On the other hand, these chapters were *not* wanting in the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes. See Notes 10. 11. to this section.

33. Schoenleben in his Notitia codicis Ebneriani (Norimbergæ 1738. 4to.) p. 17. says, Primum caput his verbis incipit, Τοῦ δε Ιησοῦ, κ. τ. λ. Now since no book can well begin with the particle δε, we may conclude that in the more ancient Greek MS. from which the Codex Ebnerianus was copied, something preceded, namely, the genealogy, as in other Greek manuscripts.

PAGE 193.

34. The Greek text of the Septuagint at Ruth iv. 22. according to the Vatican manuscript does *not* differ from the Hebrew: for it has ἰεσσαί ἐγεννήσε Δαβίδ, without the addition of τοῦ βασιλέως. Matth. i. 6. therefore can no more be said to have been taken from the Septuagint than from the Hebrew bible, and consequently we could not infer a diversity of authors, even if it were true, that quotations from the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel were generally taken from the Hebrew. But this position is again inaccurate: for in our *Greek Gospel*

Gospel of St. Matthew, the quotations from the Old Testament agree more frequently with the text of the Septuagint than with the Hebrew text, as Eichhorn has very clearly shewn in his universal library of biblical literature, Vol. II. p. 952—980. Though St. Matthew, like every other author of an Hebrew work, had no recourse to the Septuagint for passages of the Old Testament, yet his Greek translator frequently, though not always, had recourse to it.—After all, as our Greek Gospel of St. Matthew is a translation, a comparison of the Greek text in the two first chapters with that of the rest of the Gospel, whether we have respect to the mode of quoting the Old Testament, or to the style in general, can affect only the question, whether the whole was *translated* by the same person, not whether the whole was originally composed by the same person.

35. It appears from the Notes 10. 11. to this section, that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes contained at least the second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. We must conclude therefore from the connexion of the subject, that it contained likewise the eight last verses of the first chapter, which are so closely connected with the second chapter, that no separation can well take place. The only doubt therefore is, whether it contained the genealogy. Matth. i. 1—17.

PAGE 194.

36. That the name of Rahab, who is mentioned Matth. i. 5. as the wife of Salmon and the mother of Boaz (or Booz), does not appear either in the genealogy of David, which is given in Ruth iv. or in that which is given 2 Chron. ii. is by no means extraordinary, since in those genealogies the females are not recorded. As to the circumstance that Rahab, who is mentioned in the book of Joshua (ch. ii. 1.), and there called the harlot Rahab, is not said there to have been the wife of Salmon and the mother of Boaz, it really affords no argument whatever against the accuracy of the account given in Matth. i. 5. : for it is a mistake, that by Rahab
Matth.

Matth. i. 5. was meant the harlot Rahab, who could not have been the mother of Boaz, the husband of Ruth, since it is evident from the book of Ruth, that Boaz lived in a later age than the harlot Rahab, who was a contemporary of Joshua. And even if the harlot Rahab *could* have been the mother of Boaz, we have no authority whatever for supposing that she *was*, since many Jewish women may have borne the name of Rahab.

27. Here again our author argues as if by Rahab Matth. i. 5. were meant the harlot Rahab. Into whatever tribe the harlot Rahab married, if she married at all, still the father of Boaz may have married another Rahab: and though *this* Rahab is not mentioned in the Old Testament, her name may have been preserved in Jewish genealogies.

38. In examining the question, whether a passage of the Greek Testament be genuine, or not, the first question to be asked is; What is the evidence of the Greek manuscripts, of the ancient versions, and of the ancient fathers? Now there have been not less than three hundred and fifty-five Greek manuscripts of the Gospels collated, every one of which contains the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, with exception to the single Codex Ebnerianus. But even this manuscript contains the second chapter, and the more ancient manuscript contained probably the whole of the first. See Note 33. The evidence of the Greek manuscripts therefore is decidedly in favour of the authenticity of the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel. Equally decisive is the testimony of the ancient versions; for these chapters are contained in all of them. That in some few Latin manuscripts the genealogy is separated from the remaining part of the first chapter, and that St. Matthew's Gospel is made to begin with ch. i. 18. is a circumstance, which is not only much too trivial to be opposed to the weight of evidence on the other side, but at the furthest can effect only the genealogy, and not the *whole* of the two first chapters. In fact, such writers
of

of Latin manuscripts, as wrote the genealogy apart from the rest of the Gospel, were actuated not by critical, but theological motives. They found difficulty in reconciling the genealogy in Matth. i. with that of Luke iii. and therefore wished to get rid of it. Consequently it is highly uncritical to take *their* manuscripts even into consideration. With respect to the quotations of ancient writers, which form the third kind of evidence, it is sufficient to observe, that both Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, have quoted from the two chapters in question, without signifying any suspicion of their want of authenticity. And what is still more, even Celsus, the great enemy of the Christian religion in the second century, has quoted from them. See Griesbach's *Symbolæ criticæ*, Tom. II. p. 241. We must set therefore all the laws of criticism at defiance, if we assert that the *Greek* Gospel of St. Matthew, to which alone the preceding arguments relate, began with ch. iii. *ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις*. That the Greek Gospel ever began in this manner is in itself likewise incredible, since no writer, unless something had preceded, would say 'in *those* days.'

On the other hand, however evident it may be, that the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, from its very first existence, contained the two first chapters, yet, as this Gospel is a translation from the Hebrew (that is, Chaldee) of St. Matthew, it is still possible, that they were not contained in the original, that the original began, as Epiphanius says the Gospel used by the Ebionites began, with the words, 'it happened in the days of Herod the king, &c.' that the Greek translator prefixed a translation of some other Chaldee document containing an account of Christ's birth, and that, in order to connect it with the commencement of his original, he altered 'the days of Herod' to 'those days.' All this is possible: but it would be a very difficult matter to render it probable. It appears indeed from the Dissertation on the origin of
our

our three first Gospels, ch. 15. that before any of our canonical Gospels was composed, there existed an Hebrew (that is, Chaldee) narrative of Christ's transactions, which contained only so much matter, as is common to the three first Evangelists, and therefore did not contain what is related in Matth. i. ii. But then it is further shewn in the same chapter, that this document formed only the basis of St. Matthew's Gospel, and that the Evangelist himself made very considerable additions and improvements. There is no improbability therefore in the supposition, that the two first chapters were added by the Evangelist himself, especially since the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes really contained them, as appears from Notes 10. 11.: and there is great reason to believe that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes approached much nearer to St. Matthew's genuine original, than that which was used by the Ebionites, since the Nazarenes were descendants of the first converts to Christianity, the Christians of Judæa being called Ναζωραῖοι, Acts xxiv. 5. while the Greek Christians were called Χριστιανοί, Acts xi. 26. Absolute certainty on this subject is indeed not to be obtained for want of sufficient data: but the same want of data makes it impossible to prove that St. Matthew was *not* the author of the chapters in question.—Among the various writers on this subject, no one has displayed more critical judgment than Professor Rau of Erlangen, in a short Latin dissertation published at Erlangen in 1793, entitled *Symbolæ ad quæstionem de authenticâ i. et ii. cap. Evangelii. Matthæi discutiendam.*

S E C T. X.

PAGE 198.

1. Where συναγω is used in the Septuagint, קהל is generally used in the Hebrew. Our author therefore very improperly calls קהל an ill-chosen expression for συναχθῆσαν.

2. Our author's mistake in regard to this word in the Syriac version has been already noticed in Note 4. to Vol. I. Ch. iv. Sect. 10. and Note 1. to Vol. II. Ch. vii. Sect. 7.

3. See also the Notes 41—51. to that section.

PAGE 200.

4. The German title of this work is, Kritisch-historische Nachrichten von der Braunschweigischen Bibel-Sammlung.

PAGE 201.

5. This description, of which Michaelis spoke even in his third edition published in 1777, has not yet appeared, and probably therefore never will. But Bolten in the preface to his German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, p. xvii. has signified an intention of giving one.

CHAP. V.

OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL.

SECT. II.

PAGE 202.

1. Compare Acts xii. 25. with ver. 12.

PAGE 203.

2. See 1 Tim. i. 1. and 2 Tim. i. 1.
3. See Acts iv. 36.

PAGE 204.

4. See Luke i. 36.

SECT. II.

1. In this, and several of the following passages, our author has given only a German translation, for which I have substituted the Greek text.

PAGE 206.

2. If Irenæus had intended to signify their departure from Rome, he would probably have used, not ἐξοδῶ, but ἀποδῶ.—St. Peter, in his second Epistle, ch. ii. 15. expresses ‘after my death’ by μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐξοδόν.

3. The words μετὰ τὴν τετῶν ἐξοδόν—εγγράφως seem to preclude this interpretation, and to denote that St. Mark wrote after their death. And according to the account of Papias himself, St. Mark wrote from *memory* what he had heard from St. Peter: ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἐγράψεν. Consequently, according to Papias, he did not write in the presence of St. Peter.

4. It is to be observed that in Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. 15. the words *γονντα δε το πραχθεν φασι τον αποστολον — ταις εκκλησιαις*, immediately follow the words last quoted, and that immediately after *ταις εκκλησιαις*, Eusebius adds, *Κλημης εν εκλῳ των ὑποτυπων παρὰλειθεται την ἰστοριαν· συνεπιμαρτυρει δε αυτῳ ὁ Ἱεραπολιτης επισκοπος, ονοματι Παπιας*. One should suppose therefore that Eusebius intended to signify that Clement of Alexandria and Papias had related what he had *last* mentioned, namely, from *γονντα* to *εκκλησιαις*, and to give them as examples of persons, whom he had in view, when he used the word *φασι*. And that he really alluded to what he had *last* mentioned, appears from the verb *παρὰλειθεται*, which must denote the *additional* account. Further, Jerom expressly says (De Vir. Illust. cap. 8.) ‘*Quod cum Petrus audisset, probavit, et ecclesiis legendum sua auctoritate tradidit sicut Clemens in sexto ὑποτυπων scribit.*’ That Eusebius meant to include likewise the former part of the account is perhaps not quite so clear: but if he did, it was certainly not to the exclusion of the latter. Yet our author understands the appeal of Eusebius to Clement and Papias, as relating to the former part *alone*. His reason probably for so doing is, that in the passage, which Eusebius (Lib. VI. cap. 14.) likewise quotes from the Hypotyposes, Clement gives a different account. But it is really less admissible to do such violence to the plain construction of the passage in Eusebius, Lib. II. cap. 15. than to suppose, that Clement has in different places given contradictory reports in regard to the part supposed to have been taken by St. Peter, relative to St. Mark’s Gospel, especially since the ancients themselves are very much at variance on this subject.

5. Whoever appeals to 2 Pet. i. 15. as an argument that St. Peter took part in the composition of St. Mark’s Gospel, must first prove, that in this passage
St.

St. Peter really alluded to St. Mark's Gospel. But there is nothing in the whole Epistle, which warrants us even to suppose it, since we find not the least allusion there to a narrative of Christ's transactions. In fact, when St. Peter says ' I will endeavour, after my decease, that ye may have these things always in remembrance,' it is at least possible that he alluded to no *written* document whatsoever, and that he meant only to say, he would take care to leave behind him proper teachers, who should remind the community, to which he was then writing, of the doctrines, which he had taught. On the other hand, if he really alluded to a written document, we may conclude that he meant the epistle, which he was then writing, and which has really been a lasting monument of his doctrines. It is true that he uses *σπεδασω* in the future: but this word may surely apply to all that he was then *preparing* to write, or to all the following part of the Epistle, after ch. i. 15.

PAGE 209.

6. It is true that Lardner, in the place mentioned, has quoted a passage from Chrysostom, in which it is said, that St. Mark wrote his Gospel at Alexandria: but our author has neglected to mention, that Lardner, in the very same place, has quoted another passage from Chrysostom, in which the Greek father delivers his own opinion, and says he could not determine with certainty in what place any one of the three Evangelists wrote. Chrysostom therefore, though he recorded the report, that St. Mark wrote his Gospel at Alexandria, did not place much confidence in it.—On the other hand, if it cannot be determined with *certainty*, in what place St. Mark wrote his Gospel, yet the accounts given by the ecclesiastical writers, when compared with each other, produce at least the *probable* result, that he wrote it in Rome.

PAGE 210.

7. If St. Mark had either written his Gospel at Alexandria, or even if he had published it there, though written in some other place, the Alexandrine fathers would certainly not have neglected to make frequent mention of a circumstance, which they would have considered as redounding so much to the honour of their city. Since then neither Clement nor Origen, even where they expressly speak of the composition of St. Mark's Gospel, have put in any claim for Alexandria, but on the contrary Clement has related, that it was written at the request of the Christians in Rome, and delivered into their hands, we may be assured that Alexandria was not the place, where St. Mark's Gospel was either first written, or first made public.

8. Professor Birch's account of the omission of Mark xv. 9—20. in the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, is now generally known from his edition of the four Gospels. That Eusebius at least doubted the authenticity of the passage is inferred from the circumstance, that he did not include it in his canons, as appears from several ancient manuscripts, of which an account may now be seen in Birch's Note to this passage. See also Griesbach's observations on it, in his last edition of the Greek Testament.

PAGE 211.

9. But if they did not make their report *at the instant*, does it follow that they *never* made it? In fact our author's mode of arguing at this place is not very intelligible.

10. The hypothesis of a two-fold edition of St. Mark's Gospel by the Evangelist himself is not wholly improbable, but the argument here used by our author is unfavourable to it: for it is really an argument in favour of the opinion, that the passage in question was added, not by the Evangelist himself, either at Alexandria, or at any other place, but by some person, who

did not pay sufficient attention to what the Evangelist had already related. And if this argument be valid, we must infer that the original conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel, since it is incredible that it ever ended with the words *εφοβητο γαρ*, was lost in a very early age, and that its place was supplied with the conclusion, which is now extant. On the other hand, Dr. Storr, in his *Dissertatio exegetica in librorum N. T. historicorum aliquot loca* (Tubingæ, 1790, 4to.) p. 50—67. has given a very learned and ingenious defence of its authenticity.

SECT. III.

PAGE 212.

1. This argument loses the greatest part of its weight from the circumstance, that both St. Matthew and St. Luke are equally silent with St. Mark, in regard to the name of the Apostle, who cut off the ear off the high priest's servant. Besides, if St. Mark *purposely* concealed the name of St. Peter, lest the Romans should take offence at it, that motive would probably have induced him, if he wrote at Rome, to have acted with the same caution, even after the death of the Apostle: for though his person was then no longer in danger, the memory of him was still exposed to the danger of reproach.

PAGE 214.

2. In regard to the reason why the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke contain so much important matter, which is not contained in the Gospel of St. Mark, see the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

S E C T. IV.

1. It is not true, that *all* the fathers represent St. Mark as having written from the preaching of St. Peter: for Augustin (*De consensu evangelistarum*, Lib. I. cap. 4.) gives it as his opinion, that St. Mark derived the principal materials of his Gospel from that of St. Matthew.

2. The reason, why St. Mark and St. Luke agree with each other in the arrangement of their facts, in opposition to the arrangement observed by St. Matthew, is assigned in the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 17.

S E C T. V.

PAGE 216.

1. On the questions, whether St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, or whether he copied from St. Luke, or whether St. Luke copied from St. Mark, which our author examines in this and the two following sections, see the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 8. where the cause is tried by a new criterion.

S E C T. VI.

PAGE 222.

1. It is true, that according to Coloss. iv. 10. 14. both the Evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke, were with St. Paul at Rome, when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Colossians, if the Mark mentioned at Coloss. iv. 10. be the same person with St. Mark the Evangelist. Consequently, if St. Luke had at that time

already written his Gospel, and St. Mark had not, it may be thought probable that St. Mark had seen St. Luke's Gospel, before he wrote his own. This however is a mere hypothetical argument, and therefore not conclusive. Besides, since the Gospel of St. Luke, as appears from the preface to it, was written for the private use of Theophilus, it is probable, that some time elapsed before it was generally known. Be this however as it may, it is useless to examine what is probable, or what is improbable under assumed circumstances, when, whatever the circumstances may have been, the *fact*, that St. Mark made *no* use of St. Luke's Gospel, may be proved by positive and unanswerable arguments. Our author indeed is of opinion that the variations between St. Mark and St. Luke are reconcileable with the supposition, that the former used the Gospel of the latter. Yet, in the preceding section, where he examined the question, whether St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, and that too on the very same ground, he came to a very different conclusion: and if the argument be decisive in the one case, it certainly is so on the other. But whether it be decisive, or not, there are other phænomena in the two Gospels, which are absolutely incompatible with the supposition, that the one was used in the composition of the other. See the above-quoted Dissertation, ch. 8.

PAGE 223.

2. This phænomenon may be better explained on another hypothesis. Ib. ch. 17.

S E C T. VII.

1. Here our author rejects the notion that one Evangelist copied from the other, and thinks that their agreement may be best explained on the hypothesis of a common document.—It is to be observed, that this is the *last* opinion of Michaelis, for it was delivered *after* the publication of the fourth edition of his Introduction to the New Testament, which contains several contradictions in regard to the question, whether the succeeding Evangelists used the writings of the preceding. Formerly Michaelis adopted every where the affirmative: but, though he has since altered his opinion, as appears from ch. iii. of the present volume, where he says, that St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke appears *not* to have read each other's writings, yet he has neglected in his fourth edition to make such alterations as were necessary, in order to make the author consistent with himself.

S E C T. VIII.

PAGE 226.

1. It was published at Prague in 1778, 4to.
2. To the opinion, once entertained, that St. Mark wrote in Latin, may be added the conjecture of Professor Wahl, that he wrote in Coptic, a conjecture founded on the supposition that St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Egypt, for the immediate use of the Christians of that country. But it appears from Note 7. to sect. ii. of this chapter, that the supposition itself is devoid of foundation: and even if it were not, we have no reason to suppose, that St. Mark was able to write in the Coptic language. Besides, the conjecture is not only improbable in itself, but militates against

historical evidence: for had St. Mark's Gospel been written in Coptic, the Alexandrine fathers must have known it, and would therefore have hardly neglected to mention it.

PAGE 227.

3. No one, who rejects the arrangement adopted by St. Mark, can follow that which is adopted by St. Luke, because both these Evangelists have the same arrangement of facts, where that of St. Matthew is different. But on this subject see the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

CHAP. VI.

OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.

SECT. I.

PAGE 229.

1. This epithet is likewise used in the parallel passage of St. Mark's Gospel, ch. i. 23. though without δαιμονιον. St. Mark has πνευμα ακαθαρτον; St. Luke πνευμα δαιμονιου ακαθαρτου. It is probable therefore that in the common Hebrew document some word was used expressive of ακαθαρτος, and that this was the reason why St. Luke, as well as St. Mark, has this epithet in the present instance. Besides, if the circumstance that δαιμονιον in the classic writers may denote either αγαθοδαιμων or κακοδαιμων, had been the motive, which induced St. Luke to add ακαθαρτος as a mark of distinction, it is extraordinary, that he has never done so on any other occasion, though the word δαιμονιον occurs more than twenty times in his Gospel.

PAGE 230.

2. Let the expression *τρίτην ἡμέραν αἰεὶ*, or *τετάρτην ἡμέραν αἰεὶ*, or the like, occur as often as it will in the writings of Galen, yet as it is not a medical expression, and is far from being confined to the writings of physicians, the use of it at Luke xxiv. 21. cannot be owing to the circumstance, that St. Luke himself was a physician.

S E C T. II.

PAGE 231.

1. To translate all that our author has said on this subject in the place, to which he refers, would be tedious: and a mere extract would be of no use. I must beg leave therefore to refer the reader to the valuable Notes on the passage in question in Archbishop Newcome's Harmony of the Gospels.

PAGE 232.

2. The moral tendency of the precept, as delivered by St. Luke, does not appear to be so very different from its tendency, according to the form, in which it is delivered by St. Matthew. The latter says nothing more about a *just* claim to the under garment, as our author's interpretation implies, than the former does in respect to the outer garment: the exchange therefore of the words *χιτων* and *ἱματιον* is of no great importance. Besides, the objections, which have been made to the passage, are founded on the supposition, that Christ delivered the precept as an absolute *command*, whereas he gave it only as a rule of *prudence*, to be applied as occasion required. And cases certainly may and do occur, in which it is more prudent to submit even to an *unjust* demand, than to enter into a contest about it.

PAGE 283.

3. Here again the purport of the precept, as it is delivered by St. Luke, is really the same, as the purport of it, as it is delivered by St. Matthew. It was the intention of Christ to signify, ‘forgive thy brother as often as he offends thee, however frequent his offences may be.’ One Evangelist has expressed this by saying, ‘forgive him, if he offends thee, not merely seven, but seventy times;’ the other by saying, ‘forgive him, if he offends thee even seven times in the same day.’ Since then the purport of both forms is the same, there is no necessity for supposing that St. Luke derived his information in this instance from dubious authority, a supposition, which his preface by no means warrants. See the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

4. Our author’s objection to the expression *δεκα μνας* is grounded on the supposition, that this sum contained the *whole* treasure, and that this treasure was a *royal* treasure. But in the parable recorded by St. Luke, the ten minas are by no means represented as the whole treasure: on the contrary, they are represented only as a certain portion entrusted to certain servants, in order to try their fidelity: and it was so far from being a royal treasure, that St. Luke calls the proprietor of it only *αὐθρῶπος τῆς εὐγενῆς*. St. Luke adds indeed that this person was *going* to take possession of a kingdom: but then till he was in actual possession, his property was only that of a private man. In the parable therefore, as it is related by St. Luke, there is no absurdity attending the sum intrusted to the ten servants: and consequently there is no necessity for supposing, that an error has here taken place in translating from the Hebrew. But even if there had, our author’s conjecture would not satisfactorily account for it. For, though the words *מִנָּה* and *מִנָּה* may be mistaken, the one for the other, in the singular number, when written without points, yet no such confusion can take place
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in the plural number, the one having מִנֹּת, the other מִנִּים: and the plural number must have been used, because the question relates, not to *one* (whether mina or portion) but to *ten*.

S E C T. III.

PAGE 236.

1. To our author's argument, which appears to be very satisfactory in favour of the opinion that Λεκάς and Λεκις in the Greek Testament, do not denote the same person, may be added the following. If it be true, that one and the same person was called by one man Λεκις, by another Λεκάς, yet St. Paul, when speaking of this person in his Epistles, would probably have been uniform in regard to the name which he gave him, that he would have constantly adhered either to the one, or to the other, and that he would not have used the names indifferently, because such an indiscriminate use of them might, and probably would, have induced his hearers to suppose, that he meant two different persons, where he really meant only one. But St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, ch. xvi. 21. sends a salutation from a person, whom he calls Λεκις, and in his Epistle to the Colossians, ch. iv. 14. in his second Epistle to Timothy, ch. iv. 11. and in his Epistle to Philemon, ver. 24. he speaks of a person, whom he calls Λεκάς. Consequently the supposition, that Λεκάς and Λεκις were names of one and the same person must be ungrounded.

Another question has been started, which our author has not noticed, namely, whether Silas, who is mentioned in several places of the Acts of the Apostles, be not the same person with the Evangelist St. Luke. In defence of the affirmative, it has been said, that Silas is a contraction of Silvanus, and Lucas of Lucanus: that the *meaning* of the words 'Silvanus' and 'Lucanus' are the same, the one being derived from
'fylva,'

‘*sylva*,’ the other from ‘*lucus*’: and therefore that Silas and Lucas must denote the same *person*. Now we might just as well argue, that if in one part of an English book we met with the name of Allworthy, and in another with the name of Goodall, those names denoted the same person, because they both signify *παγκαλῶς*. Besides, it is evident from other reasons, that the author of the Acts of the Apostles did not mean by the name *Σίλας* to denote himself. As far as Acts xvi. 8. he always speaks of St. Paul and his companions (among whom Silas had been already mentioned) in the third person plural, and this verse is *παρελθούσης δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν κατέβησαν εἰς Τρωάδα*. But the departure from Troas, ver. 10, is described in the *first* person plural, *ἐζήησαμεν ἐξελθεῖν*: consequently, we may infer, that the author of the Acts of the Apostles joined company with St. Paul for *the first time* at Troas, and therefore that he could not be the same with Silas, who was with St. Paul *before* he came to Troas. See Acts xv. 22—40. Again, in describing the journey from Troas to Samothrace, Neapolis, and Philippi, he continues the use of the first person plural, ch. xvi. 10—16. At ch. xvi. 19. he begins to speak of some transactions, in which not St. Paul and his companions in general, but only St. Paul and Silas were concerned: and here the author of the Acts re-assumes the *third* personal plural, which is continued through several chapters, in which the name of Silas frequently occurs. At ch. xx. 5, 6. the *first* person plural is again assumed, and is continued to the end of the book. It is clear therefore that the author of the Acts of the Apostles was a different person from the Silas so frequently mentioned in them.

S E C T. IV.

PAGE 236.

1. As this section is very diffuse in the original, I have taken the liberty of compressing it, without omitting however any thing of the least consequence.

PAGE 237.

2. Καλῶς signifies literally ‘*viva voce doceo*,’ and St. Luke opposes it to γραφῶ, which he had used in the preceding verse. It appears then that Theophilus at that time had been only *verbally* instructed in Christianity, and that St. Luke wrote his Gospel, that Theophilus might have an authentic *written* document on the subject. But that the verbal instructions which Theophilus had received were so very imperfect, that they did not entitle him even to the name of Christian, is an inference, for which there is no foundation. Theophilus may perhaps in some respects have been even wrongly informed, as is the case with many Christians at the present day; but it does not therefore follow, that he was not a Christian at all, when St. Luke wrote his Gospel.

3. The antithesis, which our author endeavours to discover in the expression ἐν ἡμῖν, Luke i. 1. is wholly imaginary. See what is said on this expression in the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

S E C T. V.

PAGE 241.

1. See the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15. Note 7.

PAGE

PAGE 244.

2. In general the ancient Latin MSS. arrange the four Gospels in the following order: St. Matthew, St. John, St. Luke, St. Mark. This is also the arrangement in the Codex Bezaë, as well of the Greek, as of the Latin.

S E C T. VI.

PAGE 248.

1. To these nine opinions may be added a tenth; for, according to the subscription of some Greek manuscripts quoted by Mill, it was written at Rome.

PAGE 250.

2. On the contrary, the circumstance that the epithet is found in the Syriac version, as well as in some Greek manuscripts, warrants rather the conclusion, that it was *not* a later addition. But whether it was, or not, such anonymous subscriptions are of no authority whatsoever.

3. Upon the whole however it is very improbable, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Troas before he joined company with St. Paul, or indeed that he wrote it any where before he had accompanied St. Paul to Palestine, where he had the best opportunity of making those diligent inquiries, of which he speaks in his preface.

PAGE 253.

4. See Note 2. to Sect. iv.

5. But if St. Luke during his stay at Philippi, while St. Paul was travelling in other parts of Greece, had written his Gospel for the use of a man of distinction whether he lived in the town itself, or in the neighbourhood, or whether he was acquainted with any of the
the

the Christian converts at Corinth, or not, it seems probable that St. Paul would have taken some notice of him, at least in his Epistle to the Philippians. On the other hand, it may be said, that since St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Philippians, has greeted no one by *name*, and says only in general terms, ch. vi. 21. ἀσπασαθε πάντα ἁγίον ἐν Χριστῷ, the omission of the name of any one person in particular is the less extraordinary.

PAGE 255.

6. In Acts xx. 2. where this journey is mentioned, St. Luke says only in general terms ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, without naming Corinth in particular. But as he adds in ver. 3. that St. Paul spent three months on that journey, it is probable, that he did not finish it without paying a visit to the Christians at Corinth.

7. That St. Luke was not with St. Paul, when the Apostle returned at that time from Hellas to Macedonia, appears, first, from his having used the *third* person as far as ver. 4. of ch. xx. and his commencing with the *first* person plural in ver. 5.; secondly, from the circumstance, that in ver. 4. he has particularly named the persons, who came away with St. Paul. But from what he says in ver. 5. we may conclude, that St. Luke again joined company with St. Paul, not at Troas, but at Philippi: for having mentioned Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus, and Trophimus, he adds, ‘*they* going before waited for *us* at Troas.’ This implies, not that St. Paul went on with those persons from Macedonia to Troas, and that St. Luke alone followed them, but that St. Paul staid behind, and came afterwards in company with St. Luke. Our author likewise has adopted this interpretation in his Note to 2 Cor. viii. 18. Vol. III. p. 367. of his Annotations to the New Testament, published three years after the last edition of his Introduction.

PAGE 259.

8. The Hebraisms in St. Luke's Gospel afford a sufficient proof, that the author was acquainted with Hebrew. Besides we know, not only that he understood Hebrew, but that he made use of Hebrew documents in the composition of his Gospel. See the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15.

PAGE 260.

9. Dr. Storr supposes that St. Mark's Gospel was written first, and that it was used both by St. Matthew and St. Luke. But that St. Matthew copied likewise from St. Luke's Gospel, I have not found asserted in any of his writings. He supposes only, that the *Greek translator* of St. Matthew's Gospel made use of the Gospel of St. Luke. See his Design of the Evangelical History, p. 360.

PAGE 261.

10. See the Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels, ch. 15. Note 7.

SECT. VII.

PAGE 267.

1. See the interpretation given of St. Luke's preface, in the above-mentioned Dissertation, ch. 15.

PAGE 268.

2. The expression used by St. Luke, ch. xii. 33. is *τα ὑπαρχοντα ὑμῶν*, which our author interprets by Aaecker, that is, 'lands,' and on this interpretation he founds an argument. But since *τα ὑπαρχοντα* denotes property in general, and the persons, to whom Christ then addressed his discourse had probably little or no landed

landed estates, the interpretation rests on a very precarious foundation.

PAGE 269.

3. Were this conjecture true, it would directly contradict the notion, that St. Luke wrote *against* the Essenes.

4. I here use the words of Sale, in his translation of the Koran.

PAGE 270.

5. Of this passage our author had given only a German translation, for which I have substituted the words of the original.

PAGE 271.

6. It has been very generally believed, on the authority of Tertullian and Epiphanius, that Marcion wilfully corrupted the Gospel of St. Luke. Now it is true that the long catalogue of Marcion's quotations, which Epiphanius has preserved in his forty-second Herefy, exhibits readings, which materially differ from those of the corresponding passages in St. Luke's Gospel. Consequently, *if* Marcion really derived those quotations from a copy of St. Luke's Gospel, that copy must have contained a text, which in many places materially differed from our genuine text, though the question will still remain undecided, whether the alterations were made by Marcion himself, or whether he used a manuscript, in which they had been already made. But that Marcion used St. Luke's Gospel at all, is a position, which has been taken for granted, without the least proof. Marcion himself never pretended that it was the Gospel of St. Luke, as Tertullian acknowledges, saying, 'Marcion Evangelio suo *nullam ascribit autorem.*' Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. cap. 2. It is probable therefore, that he used some apocryphal Gospel, which had much matter in common with
that

that of St. Luke, but yet was not the same. On this subject see Griesbach *Historia textus epistolarum Paulinarum*, p. 91, 92. and Loeffler's dissertation entitled *Marcionem Pauli epistolas et Lucae evangelium adulterasse dubitatur*, which is printed in the first volume of the *Commentationes theologicæ*.

DISSERTATION

ON THE

ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION

OF OUR

THREE FIRST CANONICAL GOSPELS.

C O N T E N T S.

ORIGIN OF THE THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

CHAP. I.

General statement of the question. — PAGE 167

CHAP. II.

Of the authors, who suppose, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding. 171

CHAP. III.

Of Griesbach's hypothesis in particular. 178

CHAP. IV.

Of the authors, who suppose that our Evangelists made use of a common document, or common documents. — — — 184

CHAP. V.

Of Eichhorn's hypothesis in particular. — 191

CHAP. VI.

*Of the authors, who have united both of the preceding
suppositions.* — — PAGE 201

CHAP. VII.

*Statement of all the parallel and coincident passages
of the three first Gospels. Result of this statement :
and an account of several very remarkable phæ-
nomena in the verbal harmony of the Gospels.* 205

CHAP. VIII.

*The supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied
from the preceding, tried by these phænomena.* 320

CHAP. IX.

*The supposition, that the three first Evangelists made
use of a common Greek document, tried by these
phænomena.* — — 330

CHAP. X.

*The hypothesis, that our three first Gospels contain
three Greek translations made independently of
each other from the same Hebrew original, tried
by these phænomena.* — — 331

CHAP. XI.

*Of the various forms, under which the general sup-
position of a common Hebrew document may be re-
presented : with a general notation comprising all
possible forms.* — — 340

CHAP. XII.

*Of some cautions necessary to be observed in determining
any particular form.* — — 344

CHAP. XIII.

The various forms of the above-mentioned general supposition, as they may be represented, when it is assumed, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, tried by the phænomena in the verbal harmony of the Gospels. — — — PAGE 348

CHAP. XIV.

The various forms of the above-mentioned general supposition, as they may be represented, when it is assumed, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, tried by the phænomena in the verbal harmony of the Gospels. — — — 359

CHAP. XV.

Description of the author's hypothesis. — 360

CHAP. XVI.

This hypothesis tried by the phænomena in the verbal harmony of the Gospels. — — 378

CHAP. XVII.

The same hypothesis tried by the phænomena in the contents and arrangement of the Gospels. 396



DISSERTATION

ON THE

ORIGIN

OF OUR

THREE FIRST CANONICAL GOSPELS.

CHAP. I.

GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE QUESTION.

THAT our three first canonical Gospels, or the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke have a remarkable similitude to each other, and that these three Evangelists frequently agree, not only in relating the same things in the same manner, but likewise in the same words, is a fact, of which every one must be convinced, who has read a Greek Harmony of the Gospels. To mention at present only a few instances. The parable of the sower, Matth. xiii. 3—9. Mark iv. 3—9.: Christ's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, Matth. xxiv. 3—36. Mark xiii. 5—32.: the description of Christ's celebration of the last passover, and of the treachery of Judas, Matth. xxvi. 20—48. Mark xiv. 17—44. Further, Christ's discourse on the message of John the Baptist, Matth. xi. 3—19. Luke vii. 19—35.: the woe denounced to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, Matth. xi. 21—27. Luke x. 13

—15. 22. 24.: Christ's censure of certain persons, who required of him a sign, Matth. xii. 41—45. Luke xi. 24—26. Again, the benediction of children, who were brought to Christ, with Christ's answer to the question, by what means salvation was to be obtained, Mark x. 14—25. Luke xviii. 16—25.: Christ's censure of certain Pharisees, Mark xii. 38—40. Luke xx. 46, 47. From these examples, some of which are very long, it appears, that sometimes St. Matthew and St. Mark, at other times St. Matthew and St. Luke, at other times again St. Mark and St. Luke agree in relating the same things in the same manner, and, with a very few exceptions, in the same words. In some cases likewise all the three Evangelists agree word for word, of which the most remarkable instance is, Matth. xxiv. 33—35. Mark xiii. 29—31. Luke xxi. 31—33.

These phenomena are inexplicable on any other, than one of the two following suppositions: either, that St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, copied the one from the other: or that all three drew from a common source. For it is wholly impossible, that three historians, who have no connexion, either mediate or immediate with each other, should harmonize as St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke do. Even eye-witnesses to the same facts, if they make their reports independently of each other, will never relate them in the same manner, and still less in the same words. Different observers regard the same facts from different points of view, the one pays attention to one circumstance, the other to another circumstance; and even the circumstances, which they observe in common, they will arrange and combine in their own minds in such a manner, as to produce two representations, which, though upon the whole the same, widely differ in the choice and the position of the respective parts. This case is parallel to that of different historical painters, who represent on canvas the same subject: and whoever has compared, for instance, Christ's de-
scend

scend from the cross by Rubens with his descent from the cross by a painter of the Italian school, knows how greatly the representations differ from each other. Consequently, when eye-witnesses to the same facts relate those facts, their *mode* of narration will be very different; the one will mention circumstances, which the other omits, the one will combine the parts of his narrative in this, the other in that manner. If therefore St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke agreed only in the *mode* of relating the same facts, we should conclude that there was some connexion, either mediate or immediate between their writings, even had St. Mark and St. Luke, as well as St. Matthew, been eye-witnesses to the facts, which they relate: and, since they were not eye-witnesses, we may draw the inference with still greater reason. Further, this inference is corroborated by the circumstance, that, though St. John, as well as St. Matthew, was present at the transactions, which he has recorded, his mode of relating the few facts, which he has in common with St. Matthew, is very different from St. Matthew's mode of relation. The similarity therefore of St. Mark and St. Luke to St. Matthew is the more remarkable: and since they likewise agree in numerous instances in the use of the same words, there cannot exist a doubt that their Gospels had some connexion, either mediate or immediate, with each other. It is true, that the examples of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke are far from being either so numerous or so long, as those between St. Matthew and St. Mark, and between St. Matthew and St. Luke: but this deficiency in the argument, as applied to St. Mark and St. Luke, is amply compensated by another circumstance, namely, that the numerous facts, which are common to St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, are arranged by St. Mark and St. Luke precisely in the same order, though several of them have received a different arrangement from St. Matthew. And on the other hand, if St. Matthew's dif-

ferent

ferent arrangement of several of the facts, should be considered as an argument that the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke had no connexion with that of St. Matthew, the remarkable verbal agreement of St. Matthew's Gospel with those of St. Mark and St. Luke is fully sufficient to confute it^a. Since then it is certain that our three first canonical Gospels had some connexion either mediate or immediate, we are reduced to this dilemma: Either the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding; or, all the three drew from a common source.

But though the most eminent critics are at present decidedly of opinion, that one of these two suppositions must necessarily be adopted, and that the notion of an absolute independence, in respect to the composition of our three first Gospels, is no longer tenable, yet the question, which of these two suppositions ought to be adopted in preference to the other, is still in agitation, and each of them has such able advocates, that, if we were guided by the authority of names, the decision would be extremely difficult. Besides, so much learning and ingenuity have been displayed on both sides, and the arguments, which each party has advanced, have been alternately declared in literary journals, which are regarded as oracles of criticism, to be so satisfactory, that not only great labour is requisite for a full investigation of the respective proofs, but no small share of critical ability is required on the part of him, who attempts a decision. And the difficulty is still further increased by the circumstance, that the advocates of each party are at variance among themselves.

For

^a In Mark xiii. 13—32. there is such a close verbal agreement for twenty verses together with the parallel portion in St. Matthew's Gospel, that the texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark might pass for one and the same text, in which a multiplication of copies had produced a few trifling deviations. At least they do not differ more from each other, than each differs from itself in different manuscripts. The same may be said of Luke vii. 22—35, compared with Matth. xi. 4—19.

For they, who agree in the opinion, that one Evangelist copied from the other, differ on the question, which was the copied, and which was the copying Evangelist: and on the other hand, they, who contend for a common source, differ from each other, both in respect to the source itself, and to the use, which was made of it by the Evangelists. The easiest and the most prudent part, therefore, which I could take on the present occasion, would be merely to relate the opinion of others, without hazarding an opinion of my own: but as I have already collected many materials for this purpose, and have discovered several remarkable phenomena in the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels, which will probably bring the main question nearer to a decision, than it has been hitherto brought, I shall venture, with deference to the eminent critics of both parties, to make known the fruits of my researches.

CHAP. II.

OF THE AUTHORS, WHO SUPPOSE, THAT THE SUCCEEDING EVANGELISTS COPIED FROM THE PRECEDING.

IF we attempt to account for the verbal harmony of the Evangelists on the supposition that the one copied from the other, we must necessarily assume, not only that one of them copied from the other two, but that these two likewise copied the one from the other: for otherwise we shall not be able to explain the verbal harmony of all three. This hypothesis therefore resolves itself into six possible cases.

1. St. Matthew copied from St. Mark: and St. Luke copied both from St. Matthew and from St. Mark.

2. St. Matthew copied from St. Luke: and St. Mark copied both from St. Matthew and from St. Luke.

3. St. Mark copied from St. Matthew: and St. Luke copied both from St. Matthew and from St. Mark.

4. St. Mark copied from St. Luke: and St. Matthew copied both from St. Mark and from St. Luke.

5. St. Luke copied from St. Matthew: and St. Mark copied both from St. Matthew and from St. Luke.

6. St. Luke copied from St. Mark: and St. Matthew copied both from St. Mark and from St. Luke.

The first case has been partly, but not wholly assumed by Storr^b: for, though he contends, that St. Matthew copied from St. Mark, and likewise that St. Luke copied from St. Mark, he does not assert that St. Luke copied also from St. Matthew^c.—The second case is assumed by Büfching^d, who contends that St. Luke's Gospel was written first, that St. Matthew made

^b In his *Design of the Evangelic History and Epistles of St. John*, (*Zweck der Evangelischen Geschichte und Briefe Johannis*, Tübingen, 1786.) sect. 58—62. and in a Latin Essay, entitled, *De fonte Evangeliorum Matthæi et Lucæ*, printed at Tübingen in 1794, and reprinted in the third volume of the *Commentationes theologicæ*, published at Leipzig in 1796.

^c He leaves it undetermined, p. 360, whether St. Luke copied from St. Matthew, or whether the translator of St. Matthew's Gospel, on the supposition that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, made use of St. Luke's Gospel: but he seems to favour the latter opinion.

^d In the preface to his *German Harmony of the Evangelists*, (Hamburg, 1766, 8vo.) p. 109—119.

made use of it, and that St. Mark made use of both. —The third case was assumed by Grotius, who in his Note to Matth. i. 1. says, *Usum esse Marcum Matthæi Evangelio apertum facit collatio*; and in his Note to Luke i. 1. Lucas ita Matthæi et Marci historiam auxit, ut, ubi res easdem narrat, eadem quoque verba non raro usurpet. Mill also speaking of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark says, *Prol. § 109. Facta collatione singulorum utriusque Evangelii, quæ quidem idem argumentum tractant, capitum, inevitabili plane necessitate coactus sum ut credam, ne quidem aliter fieri potuisse quin Marcus, qui cum Matthæo in plurimis exacte ac veluti ad verbum convenit, Matthæi Evangelium habuerit ad manum cum suum appararet, ex eoque nonnulla pro instituti sui ratione describeret, idque propemodum ἀπολεξεί*: and § 116. he says, nihil evidentius, quam Lucam Evangeliorum Matthæi et Marci ipsas φησεις, phrasas et locutiones, imo vero totas periochas, in suum nonnunquam ἀπολεξεί traduxisse. Wetstein is of the same opinion: for in his Preface to St. Mark's Gospel he says, cum Marcus Matthei Evangelium ante oculos haberet, quod ex harmonia manifestum est, &c.: and in his Preface to St. Luke's Gospel he says, Lucam multa ex Matthæo, ex Marco plura descripsisse ex collatione patet. Dr. Townson, in his Discourses on the four Gospels (Oxford, 1788, 8vo. 2d ed.) adopts the same opinion: for he says, p. 70. that 'the succeeding Evangelists had seen the former Gospels,' and p. 85, 93, 139, he asserts that St. Mark wrote after St. Matthew, and St. Luke after both St. Matthew and St. Mark. The same opinion has been adopted also either wholly or in part* by many other persons, whom it is unnecessary to

* That part especially, which relates to St. Mark's having copied from St. Matthew has been adopted by very many writers since the time of Augustin, who, speaking of St. Matthew, says (*De Consensu Evangelistarum, Lib. I. cap. 4.*) Marcus eum subsequutus, tanquam pedisequus et brevior ejus, videtur. But many of those critics,

to mention.—The fourth case has been assumed, as far as I know, by no critic: for, though some suppose that St. Mark copied from St. Luke^f, others that St. Matthew copied from St. Mark^g, others again that St. Matthew copied from St. Luke^h, yet no writer has maintained all three positions of the fourth case.—The fifth case is assumed by Owen and Griesbach. The former in his *Observations on the four Gospels* (London, 1764, 8vo.) after having quoted p. 32—43. many passages, in which the Gospels of St. Matthew, and St. Luke have a verbal agreement, explains this agreement on the supposition, that St. Luke copied from St. Matthew: and after having quoted p. 53—75. many passages, in which St. Mark's Gospel verbally agrees, sometimes with that of St. Matthew, sometimes with that of St. Luke, he concludes, that both these Gospels were used by St. Markⁱ. Griesbach in a Latin Essay published at Jena in two parts in 1789 and 1790, and reprinted with additions in the first volume

critics, who agree with Augustin in the opinion, that St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, differ from him, in respect to the question, whether St. Mark ought to be called the *abbreviator* of St. Matthew. In fact however, the dispute is a mere verbal one: for *if* St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, he may in one sense be called an abbreviator, in another sense an amplifier of St. Matthew's Gospel. He may so far be called an abbreviator, as he wholly omitted ch. i. ii. v. vi. vii. and many other parts of the Gospel of St. Matthew: and on the other hand he may be called an amplifier, since many of the facts which are common to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, are related by St. Mark more circumstantially, than they are by St. Matthew.

^f For instance, Owen and Griesbach, whose opinions will be mentioned presently.

^g Storr.

^h Büfching.

ⁱ In this respect, Büfching, as appears from what has been already said, agrees with Owen. The anonymous author (supposed to be Stroth) of a German Essay on the Gospel of St. Matthew published in the ninth volume of Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, asserts likewise p. 144, that St. Mark used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke.

volume of the *Commentationes theologicæ* (Lipsiæ, 1794) contends, not only that St. Mark copied both from St. Matthew and from St. Luke, but that the *whole* of St. Mark's Gospel is nothing more, than a compilation from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, as appears from the very title of his dissertation, which is *Commentatio, qua Marci Evangelium totum e Matthæi et Lucæ commentariis decerptum esse monstratur*. And that he supposes also, that St. Luke copied from St. Matthew, appears from a dissertation, which he published at Jena in 1784, entitled, *De fontibus unde Evangelistæ suas de resurrectione Domini narrationes hauserint*.—The sixth case has been hitherto adopted by no critic, with whose works I am acquainted.

This diversity of opinion, which prevails among those, who are agreed on the general principle, that the verbal harmony of the Evangelists must be explained on the supposition, that the one copied from the other, arises from the diversity of opinion, in respect to the time, when the Gospels were written: for, if the order, in which the Gospels were written, could be proved a priory on the authority of indubitable historical evidence, there could be no doubt, as soon as the principle itself was admitted, as to the mode of applying it. It was formerly the common opinion that the Gospels were written in the order, in which they are placed in our canon, namely, that St. Matthew wrote first, then St. Mark, and then St. Luke. For this reason, Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, and several other critics concluded, that St. Mark copied from St. Matthew and St. Luke both from St. Matthew and from St. Mark^k. But that our three first Gospels were

^k Whoever draws this conclusion, and yet supposes that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, must likewise suppose, either that it had been already translated into Greek, when St. Mark and St. Luke wrote, and that St. Mark and St. Luke used the Greek translation;

were really written in the order, in which they are placed in our canon, is a matter which it is impossible to prove from historical evidence: for ecclesiastical writers themselves are at variance on this subject, and it is evident that even they, who lived in the second and third centuries, had no certain knowledge in respect to the order, in which the gospels were written. If then the premises themselves are uncertain, all conclusions, which are deduced from them, must be likewise uncertain. Later critics, knowing on what precarious grounds the opinion rests, that our three first Gospels were written in the same order, in which they are placed in our canon, have ventured to desert it: but then the opinions, which they have substituted in its stead, are equally incapable of historical proof with the opinion, which they have abandoned, and consequently the conclusions, which they have drawn, are exposed to all that uncertainty, which attends the inference deduced by Grotius, Mill, and Wettstein. The opinion of Storr, that St. Mark's Gospel was written, not only before that of St. Luke, but even before that of St. Matthew, is still less capable of support, than that, which was formerly adopted: for in favour of Storr's opinion no ecclesiastical writer whatsoever can be alleged. It is in fact a mere conjecture of the learned author; for the arguments, which he alleges in its support, do not raise it even to the lowest degree of probability. He argues thus¹. Barnabas was sent with St. Paul to Antioch, to bring to the Christian converts in that city the decree of the Apostolic council held in Jerusalem, Acts xv. St. Mark was a cousin of
Barnabas,

translation; or, if the Greek translation was made after the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke were written, that their Gospels were consulted by the translator: for without one of these two suppositions the verbal harmony of St. Matthew's *Greek* Gospel with those of St. Mark and St. Luke will remain unexplained on the principle in question. Similar remarks are applicable to the five other cases.

¹ See sect. 59. of the work above quoted.

Barnabas, and, as appears from Acts xv. 37. was likewise at that time in Antioch. Consequently St. Mark had, at that time, a very proper occasion for the composition of a Gospel; and, as he was the favourite disciple of St. Peter, who had taken the lead in the council at Jerusalem, St. Peter could not have assigned to a more proper person the task of writing a Gospel. —Now it may be readily admitted, that *if* St. Mark had written his Gospel at Antioch, and at so early a period, as that, for which Storr contends, the undertaking would have been a very proper one: but the converse of the proposition, which Storr adopts, is unwarrantable, since no man can argue from the propriety of a fact to the existence of it. Besides, if the question is to be decided on the ground of propriety, we may with equal reason say, it was proper that the first Gospel should be written by an Apostle. The opinions of Owen and Büsching, though each of them is much more probable than that of Storr, are still exposed to the same uncertainty, as the opinion, which both of them abandoned. For, when Owen contends, that St. Matthew wrote before St. Luke, and Büsching, on the other hand, that St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew, so much may be said on both sides, that it is really difficult to determine which is the true one. Both of these critics agree in respect to St. Mark, and conclude, that he used the Gospels both of St. Matthew and of St. Luke, a conclusion which they deduce from the previous supposition, that St. Mark wrote after St. Luke. But if Grotius, Mill, and Wettstein, were now alive, they might answer, ‘*We* previously suppose, and, as well as you, can allege authorities in favour of our supposition, that St. Mark wrote before St. Luke, and therefore have as much right to conclude, that St. Luke used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, as you have to conclude that St. Mark used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke.’ Such is the uncertainty, which has hitherto attended the explanation of the verbal harmony of our three first

Gospels on the hypothesis, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding. From the verbal harmony between St. Matthew and St. Mark, one writer concludes that St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, while another concludes, that St. Matthew copied from St. Mark: from the verbal harmony between St. Matthew and St. Luke, one writer concludes, that St. Luke copied from St. Matthew, while another concludes, that St. Matthew copied from St. Luke: and, lastly, from the verbal harmony between St. Mark and St. Luke, one author concludes, that St. Luke copied from St. Mark, while another concludes, that St. Mark copied from St. Luke. This contrariety of conclusion from the same premises, is occasioned by the circumstance, that each critic sets out with a previously assumed opinion, in respect to the time when the Gospels were written, and as this opinion is different in different persons, the conclusions, which they deduce, must be likewise different.

C H A P. III.

OF GRIESBACH'S HYPOTHESIS IN PARTICULAR.

GRIESBACH, whose critical penetration the difficulties above stated could not easily escape, has acted on a different plan; and instead of commencing the inquiry, by supposing that St. Mark wrote after both St. Matthew and St. Luke, he deduces this inference from the very statement, by which he endeavours to prove, that St. Mark's Gospel is a compilation from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke. It appears, namely from the statement^m which he has made of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St.

^m Comment. Theol. p. 374—381.

St. Luke, that the *whole* of St. Mark's Gospel, if we except four and twenty verses, is contained either in the Gospel of St. Matthew or in the Gospel of St. Luke; or, in other words, that, with the exception of these four and twenty verses, there is no fact recorded in St. Mark's Gospel, which is not recorded either in the Gospel of St. Matthew, or in the Gospel of St. Luke. Consequently, St. Mark's Gospel *may* be a compilation from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke: and therefore whoever adopts the principle, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, must further conclude, not only that St. Mark's Gospel *may* be a compilation from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, but that it really *is* so. The question, therefore, to be examined, is: Are the arguments, which Griesbach has alleged in favour of the opinion, that St. Mark *did* copy from St. Matthew and from St. Luke, sufficient to warrant the principle, which so many other critics have rejected? To render this subject perspicuous to those, who have not the *Commentationes theologicæ* at hand, it will be necessary to copy here Griesbach's Table of the contents of St. Mark's Gospel compared with those of St. Matthew and St. Luke. The middle column contains the whole of St. Mark's Gospel: those to the right and left, contain the portions of St. Matthew's and St. Luke's, which correspond to the stated portions of St. Mark's Gospel.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

ST. LUKE.

iii. 1—4. 22.

i. 1—20.

21—39.

iv. 31—44.

40—iii. 6.

v. 12—vi. 11.

xii. 15, 16.

iii. 7—12.

13—19.

vi. 12—16.

22, 23.

20—21.

24—32.

22—30.

46—50.

31—35.

xiii. 1—23.

iv. 12—20.

21—25.

viii. 16—18.

24—30.

26—29.

31, 32.

30—32.

34, 35.

33, 34.

35—41.

22—25.

v. 1—43.

26—56.

53—58.

vi. 1—6.

7—13.

ix. 1—6.

xiv. 1, 2.

14—16.

7—9.

3—12.

17—29.

30, 31.

10.

13—21.

32—44.

11—17.

22—xvi. 12.

45—viii. 21.

viii. 22—26.

xvi. 13—xviii. 9.

27—ix. 50.

18—51.

xix. 1—12.

x. 1—12.

13—xxiii. 1.

13—xii. 38.

xviii. 15—xx. 45.

xxiv. 1—36.

xii. 38—44.

xx. 45—xxi. 4.

xiii. 1—32.

xxi. 5—seq.

33—36.

xxvi. 1—xxviii. 8.

xiv. 1—xvi. 8.

xvi. 9.

10—13.

xxiv. 10—35.

14.

36—43.

xxviii. 18—20.

15—18.

19.

50, 51.

20.

This table is accompanied with notes, in which the learned and ingenious author endeavours to explain, why St. Mark (on the supposition that he used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke) copied this portion from St. Matthew and that portion from St. Luke: why he sometimes attended to both: and why at other times certain portions of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke were wholly omitted by him.

The *possibility* that St. Mark compiled his Gospel from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, being thus distinctly shewn, Griesbach proceedsⁿ to assign the reasons, which induced him to believe, that St. Mark really *did* compile his Gospel in that manner. These reasons comprise two principal arguments. The first is, that we can account for the arrangement of the facts in St. Mark's Gospel, on the proposed scheme of compilation: for if St. Mark copied sometimes from St. Matthew, and at other times from St. Luke, we perceive the reason why St. Mark's arrangement is always the same, either with that of St. Matthew, or with that of St. Luke. The other argument, on which Griesbach lays the greatest stress, is, that though St. Luke has recorded many facts which are unnoticed by St. Matthew, though St. John likewise has much matter, which is not in the Gospels either of St. Matthew, or of St. Luke, and Christ's ministry might have furnished a still greater number of facts, of which St. Mark must have heard, as his mother's house at Jerusalem was a place of assembly for the primitive Christians, St. Mark's Gospel, with the exception of four and twenty verses, contains no facts^o, which are not recorded, either in the Gospel of St. Matthew, or in the Gospel of St. Luke, and that even these four and
twenty

ⁿ Comment. Theol. Tom. I. p. 381—384.

^o That is, no principal facts: for *circumstances* unnoticed by St. Matthew and St. Luke are frequently added by St. Mark to the facts which he has in common with the other two Evangelists.

twenty verses, as Griesbach afterwards endeavours to shew^p, might have been suggested by one of those two Gospels. Now, if we suppose that St. Mark's Gospel is nothing more than a compilation from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, the reason why its contents are confined to those of the other two Gospels is obvious: whereas, if St. Mark had written by himself, or without the aid of any other Gospels, it would not have been in his power to confine the choice of his facts to those only, which St. Matthew and St. Luke have recorded. Griesbach further adds^q: *Sin denique contendas, alios aut plures quam hos duumviros modo laudatos eum habuisse duces, scire velimus, qui factum sit, ut hi nihil aliud, si versus excipias circiter 24, ipsi suggererent, quam quod æque e Matthæo et Luca mutuari potuisset.*

We see then, that Griesbach's opinion is an hypothesis, assumed to explain, not only St. Mark's verbal harmony with St. Matthew and St. Luke, which object it has in common with other hypotheses of this kind, but likewise and principally two other phænomena in St. Mark's Gospel, relative, first to the arrangement which is observed in it, and secondly, to its contents. Now that these two phænomena can be solved by the proposed hypothesis, may be readily granted: but before we exclude all other hypotheses, and adopt this as the true one, we must shew, that no other hypothesis can solve the phænomena as well as the proposed one. For, if we can account, in any easy and satisfactory manner, for the contents and the arrangement of St. Mark's Gospel, without having recourse to the supposition, that he compiled it from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, the circumstance, that this supposition likewise explains the two above-mentioned phænomena, proves only that it *may be* true, not that it *is* so. But it will be shewn hereafter that the contents and the arrangement of St. Mark's Gospel are
capable

capable of a very satisfactory solution on a totally different hypothesis: and therefore that very condition, which is requisite, in order to give weight to the proof, that St. Mark compiled his Gospel from those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, absolutely fails. Besides, there are other phænomena in St. Mark's Gospel, which it is necessary to explain, as well as the two above-mentioned. We must account not only for the matter which St. Mark's Gospel *does* contain, in common either with St. Matthew's, or with St. Luke's, but likewise for the matter, which it *does not* contain in common with the other two. But the supposition, that St. Mark had the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke before him, when he composed his own, cannot possibly account for the phænomenon, that those two Gospels have so much important matter, of which no traces are to be found in the Gospel of St. Mark. It is true that great ingenuity has been employed in the discovery of such reasons, as are supposed to have induced St. Mark to retain only certain portions of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and to omit the rest*. But, even if these reasons be satisfactory, they shew nothing more than that the hypothesis is reconcileable with the phænomenon, that so much important matter contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke is not likewise contained in the Gospel of St. Mark: whereas every hypothesis, in order to answer the purposes for which it is assumed, must not only be reconcileable with the phænomena, but must likewise account for them. Lastly, there are

* It cannot be, nor indeed has it been, asserted, that St. Mark omitted so much matter, *because* it was already contained in the Gospel either of St. Matthew or of St. Luke: for whoever has recourse to this argument undermines the whole edifice. If St. Mark thought it unnecessary to record what St. Matthew and St. Luke had already recorded, it may be asked: Why then did he write a Gospel, which is almost wholly contained in the other two? On this ground therefore we might conclude that St. Mark had never seen the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke.

several remarkable phænomena in the verbal harmony of the Evangelists hitherto unknown, which are not only inexplicable on the supposition, that St. Mark used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, but really incompatible with the supposition, as will be shewn hereafter.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE AUTHORS, WHO SUPPOSE, THAT OUR EVANGELISTS MADE USE OF A COMMON DOCUMENT, OR COMMON DOCUMENTS.

IN the two foregoing sections the opinions of those critics, who adopt the principle, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, have been stated in such a manner, that, in order to do justice to the respective opinions, the principle itself has not been called in question. But this very principle, on which all the above-mentioned hypotheses depend, is liable to objections, which it is not very easy to surmount. For this reason other critics explain the verbal harmony observable in our three first Gospels, on the supposition, that they were derived from a common source. The first writer, to whom this thought occurred, was Le Clerc*, who in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Amstelodami, 1716, 4to.) Sæc. I. Ann. LXIV. sect. xi. p. 429. speaking of the verbal harmony of St. Luke's Gospel with those of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and the inference, which was thence deduced, that both these

* Even Epiphanius, as long ago as the fourth century, speaking of the verbal harmony of the Evangelists, which he calls *συμφωνως και ισως λεγεσθαι*, Hæres. LI. 6. accounts for it by saying, *οτι εξ αυτης της πηγης αγωμενται*. But he has not explained what he meant by *αυτη η πηγη*.

Gospels were used by St. Luke, says: Quod volunt, ex collatione Evangelii Lucæ cum Matthæi et Marci Evangeliiis, liquere Lucam ab iis loca integra verbaque et loquendi genera mutuatum esse, id vero minime perspicuum est, quidni enim credamus *tria hæc Evangelia partim petita esse ex similibus aut iisdem fontibus*, hoc est, e commentariis eorum, qui varios Christi sermones audiverant, aut actorum ejus testes fuerant, eaque, ne oblivioni mandarentur, illico scriptis mandarant. Le Clerc however appears to have made no further use of this opinion, and it attracted so little notice, that it lay dormant upwards of sixty years, till it was revived by Michaelis in the third edition of his Introduction to the New Testament¹ published in 1777. But in *this* edition Michaelis still retained the opinion that St. Mark copied from St. Matthew², and therefore united³ the hypothesis, that the Evangelists used more ancient documents, with the principle, that the one copied from the other. In 1782 Professor Koppe at Göttingen published a short Latin dissertation entitled, *Marcus non epitomator Matthæi*, in which he explained, as Michaelis had done, the examples of verbal harmony in the three first Gospels, on the supposition, that in those examples the Evangelists retained the words which had been used in more ancient Gospels, such as those, of which St. Luke speaks in his preface: and he at the same time asserted that one Evangelist did not copy from the Gospel of the other. To this last assertion Michaelis has likewise subscribed in the fourth

¹ Vol. II. § 125. In the fourth edition it is § 129: in the English translation Vol. III. ch. iii. Priestley has a similar thought in his *Observations on the Harmony of the Evangelists* (p. 73), which were likewise published in 1777.

² Vol. II. § 137.

³ This has likewise been done by other critics, as will appear in the sequel.

fourth edition of his Introduction*, and abandoning his former opinion that St. Mark copied from St. Matthew, he attributes the verbal harmony of all three Evangelists to the use of the same documents. But as he assumes, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, he supposes, not that St. Matthew himself, but that his Greek translator had recourse to the same Greek document or documents, which had been used both by St. Mark and St. Luke, and that hence arose the verbal harmony between the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew and the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke.

We see then that Michaelis had recourse to the supposition of a common *Greek* document, or documents: and in fact, when the *verbal* harmony of three Greek Gospels is to be explained on the hypothesis, that a common document was used, it is natural to conclude, that the common document was likewise written in Greek. But since our three first Gospels not only furnish numerous examples of a close verbal coincidence, but present at other times not less numerous examples, which have all the appearance of being different translations of the same Hebrew, or Chaldee, or Syriac original, other critics have supposed, that a common Hebrew, or Chaldee, or Syriac original[†] was the ground-work, on which our three first Gospels were built. Semler, though in the early part of his life he had adopted the opinion that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, and especially that

* Vol. II. § 144. Vol. III. ch. v. sect. 5. of the translation.

† The terms 'Hebrew,' 'Chaldee,' 'Syriac,' when applied to the document or documents supposed by various critics to have been used by our three first Evangelists, are in fact synonymous. For by Hebrew is not meant the language, in which the Old Testament is written, but the language spoken in Palestine in the time of the Apostles, of which language Chaldee was one dialect, Syriac another. And these two differ so little from each other, that, with the exception of the Nun of the third person future, Syriac, when written with Chaldee letters, and without points, becomes itself Chaldee,

that St. Luke copied from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark², was the first writer, who assumed the hypothesis (or at least was the first who made it known to the public) that our three first Evangelists used in common a Hebrew or Syriac document, or documents, from which they derived the principal materials of their Gospels. This hypothesis he delivered in his *Remarks on Townson's Discourses on the four Gospels*³, which he published at Halle in 1783: but he has delivered it only in a cursory manner, and, as the thought was then new, he does not appear to have had any very determinate opinion on the subject.

The next year, namely in 1784, was published at Berlin a posthumous work of Lessing entitled *Lessing's Theological Relicks*^b, in which is a short Essay^c on the origin of our canonical Gospels. In this Essay, which was written in 1778, as appears from the date of the manuscript, and therefore five years before Semler published his remarks on Townson, the hypothesis of a common Syriac or Chaldee original is likewise asserted, but with much more precision, than was done by Semler. This original, according to Lessing, was no other than the Gospel, which was known by the name of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or the Gospel according to the twelve Apostles, a Gospel, of which the ancients speak with great respect. From this Gospel Lessing supposes, that St. Matthew, (who in his opinion wrote not in Hebrew^d but in Greek) and

² See his Preface to Baumgarten's *Controversial Divinity* (Halle, 1762.) p. 52. Note 20.

^a Especially in Vol. I. p. 146, 147, 221. 290.

^b *Theologischer Nachlaß.*

^c Pag. 45—72.

^d The notion entertained by the ancients, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, is ascribed by Lessing to the following cause. St. Matthew, though he wrote in Greek, made use of a Hebrew or Chaldee document, namely the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Hence this document acquired the name of St. Matthew's Hebrew original, whence it was afterwards supposed, that St. Matthew was the author of it.

and also St. Mark and St. Luke, derived the principal materials of their own Gospels, and accordingly translated it more or less fully, more or less closely, into Greek*. Lessing's hypothesis was soon after opposed by two very eminent critics, Storr and Griesbach, who in the works above-mentioned, the one published in 1786, the other in 1789, advanced very different hypotheses. But in 1790, it met with the approbation of Niemeyer, Professor of divinity in Halle, who in his *Conjecturæ ad illustrandum plurimorum N. T. scriptorum silentium de primordiis vitæ Jesu Christi*, says, p. 8. 'Jam si fides habenda est patrum auctoritati, antiquissima extitit de vita Jesu Christi narratio, in usum eorum, qui e Judæis Christiani facti erant, Palæstinensium imprimis scripta. Hæc narratio variis nominibus insignitur, quo pertinent Evangelium duodecim Apostolorum, Hebræorum, Nazaræorum, secundum Matthæum: eademque, nisi me omnia fallunt, *pro fonte habenda est, e quo reliqua id genus scripta, tanquam rivuli originem suam duxerunt.* Further, Niemeyer has not only adopted Lessing's hypothesis, but has improved it; and since he has in reality laid the foundation of the still greater improvements, which have been made on the hypothesis of a common Hebrew, or Chaldee original, it is but justice to transcribe what he has further said on this subject, p. 9, 10. 'Cum vero con-

* Adler, in a short Latin dissertation entitled 'Nonnulla Matthæi et Marci enunciata ex indole linguæ Syriacæ explicantur,' published at Copenhagen in the same year in which Lessing's *Theological Relicks* were printed, likewise explains (p. 24.) the agreement between the Greek Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, on the supposition, that they were both derived from the same Hebrew or Chaldee original. But Adler has not extended the hypothesis to St. Luke's Gospel, though perhaps for no other reason, than because the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark were the only subjects of his inquiry. He differs however from Lessing in respect to the original itself: for he supposes, that St. Matthew wrote not in Greek, but in Chaldee, or as it is frequently said, Hebrew, that from St. Matthew's Chaldee original St. Mark made an extract, but that it was afterwards completely translated into Greek.

contineret hic liber, de quo quærimus, Apostolorum de vita Christi narrationes, non modo propter argumenti gravitatem credibile est, ejus exemplaria in plurimorum Christianorum manibus fuisse, quorum maxime debebat interesse divinam magistri sui imaginem intueri, verum etiam *singulis exemplaribus ea, quæ quisque aliunde de Christo comperta haberet, tanquam auctaria adscripta esse*^f: ita quidem ut vel Apostolorum ævo plures extiterint horum Memorabilium recensiones. Quod si sumitur, multa facillime explicari possunt, quæ, sublata ista hypothesi, admodum obscuras reddunt Evangeliorum nostrorum origines. Primum intelligitur consensus Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, per plures Evangeliorum suorum partes, non modo in *rerum* quas tractant similitudine, verum etiam *verborum* conspiratione perspicuus. Fac centum homines ejusdem facti fuisse testes, fac centum ipsos quod viderint mandasse literis: consentient re, different verbis, nec quisquam casu factum esse judicabit, si vel tres aut quatuor ex eorum numero rem ita narraverint, ut per plurimarum periodorum seriem verbum verbo respondeat. Hoc vero quis ignorat sexcentis observari in Evangelistarum commentariis? Atqui hoc mirum non est. *Nempe ex eodem hauserunt fonte.* Memorabilia Christi et dicta et facta Hebraice scripta, in usum Græce loquentium, Græca fecerunt. Qui vero factum est, ut Lucas alium sequeretur rerum ordinem, quam Matthæus; ut in Marco plura desiderentur, in Matthæo, cujus vestigia premere videtur, obvia? Ut in singulis partibus alter altero verbosior, in observandis rebus minutis diligentior reperiatur? Quonium, ut diximus, mira fuit *exemplarium*, quæ ista Apostolorum ἀπομνημονεύματα complectebantur, *diversitas*. Deinde, quoniam liberum fuit iis, quæ ex istis Commentariis sua Evangelia concinnabant, addere quæ sibi aliunde innotuissent, rescare quæ vel sublestæ fidei, vel minus utilia

^f This additional supposition, which was first made by Niemeyer, will be found to be of singular use in explaining many phenomena in our three first canonical Gospels.

utilia lectoribus, et a suo scribendi consilio remota judicarent.'

From the time that Niemeyer published this dissertation, the hypothesis of a common Hebrew or Chaldee original has been daily gaining ground in Germany. In the year following, namely in 1791, it was adopted by Mr. Weber of Tübingen, in his 'Contributions to the history of the canon of the New Testament'², who likewise agrees with Lessing and Niemeyer in the opinion, that the common Hebrew or Chaldee document was no other than the Gospel according to the Hebrews. In the year 1792, was published at Halle in 8vo. a very ingenious work entitled, 'An attempt to illustrate the history of the Jewish and Christian canon'³, in which the learned author derives our three first canonical Gospels from a common Hebrew original, but supposes, not only that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, but that the Hebrew Gospel written by St. Matthew was the original, from which our three first Greek canonical Gospels were derived¹. In 1793, the theological faculty at Göttingen, as the origin of our canonical Gospels was a subject which began to gain universal attention, and the decision of the question must necessarily lead to many important conclusions, proposed the following question for a prize dissertation: 'Quænam sit origo Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ et Joannis? ex quibusnam fontibus eorum auctores hauserint: quibus maxime lectoribus et quo consilio singuli scripserint: quomodo denique et quo tempore factum sit, ut quatuor ista Evangelia majorem, quam

² Beyträge zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons, Tübingen, 1791, 8vo. See especially, p. 21, 22.

³ Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte des jüdischen und Christlichen Bibelkanons. The author, who has not mentioned his name, is supposed to be Corodi, a clergyman in Switzerland, who died in 1793.

¹ Vol. II. p. 150—152. J. E. C. Schmidt, professor at Gießen, has since adopted the same opinion, in a dissertation printed in the fourth volume of Henke's Magazine (Helmstadt, 1795) p. 577.

quam Evangelia, quæ vocant apocrypha, et canonicam auctoritatem consequerentur?' The prize was adjudged in the following year to Halfeld^k, and the Accessit to Ruffwurm^l, both students at Gottingen: and both of them adopted the hypothesis that our three first canonical Gospels were derived from the same Hebrew or Chaldee document or documents, but with this difference, that in the opinion of Halfeld several documents were used by the Evangelists, whereas Ruffwurm supposes, that they used only different copies of one and the same document, which he calls the original Gospel. But Ruffwurm does not suppose, either with Lessing and Niemeyer that this original Gospel was the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or with the author of the Attempt to illustrate the Canon, that it was written by St. Matthew, since he considers St. Matthew's Gospel as derived from it.

C H A P. V.

OF EICHHORN'S HYPOTHESIS IN PARTICULAR.

DURING the time that the dissertations were preparing for the prize at Gottingen, Eichhorn, whose lectures both Halfeld and Ruffwurm had attended, prepared likewise a dissertation on the origin of our three first Gospels, which he printed in 1794, in the fifth volume of his Universal Library of Biblical Literature.

^k Halfeld's Dissertation was published at Göttingen in 1794, under the following title, *Commentatio de origine quatuor Evangeliorum, et de eorum canonica auctoritate.*

^l Ruffwurm did not publish his Latin dissertation, but translated it into German, and so considerably augmented it, as to make two small 8vo. volumes, the first of which was printed at Ratzeburg, in 1797.

Literature^m. As this dissertation is by far the most important of all the essays, which have appeared in defence of the hypothesis of a common Hebrew or Chaldee original, it will be necessary to make such extracts from it, as will enable those readers, who are not acquainted with German, to judge of its merits: Eichhorn supposes that only *one* document was used by *all three* Evangelists, but he supposes that various additions had been made in various copies of it, and that three different copies, thus variously enriched, were respectively used by our three first Evangelists. Thus far Niemeyer had supposed; but then Eichhorn goes much deeper into the subject, than any of those, who had written before him. For by a very ingenious analysis of our three first Gospels, he has investigated both the contents of the assumed original document, as it existed in its primitive state, and the various additions, which were made to it in the copies, which he supposes were used by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. The principle which he adopts in this investigation, is the following: that all those portions, which are common to all three Evangelists were originally contained in the common document; that the sections, whether great or small, which are common to St. Matthew and St. Mark but not to St. Luke, and at the same time occupy places in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, which correspond to each other, were additions made in the copies used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not in the copy used by St. Luke; and in like manner that the sections found in the corresponding places of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but not contained in the Gospel of St. Matthew, were additions made in the copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke. Hence, according to Eichhorn, the original document contained the following sections,

^m Pag. 759—996. The German title is Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur. It is a periodical publication, which was begun in 1787, and contains a real treasure of biblical criticism.

sections, which are common to all the three Evangelists.

1. John the Baptist. Mark^a i. 2—8. Luke iii. 1—18. Matth. iii. 1—12.
2. Baptism of Christ. Mark i. 9—11. Luke iii. 21, 22. Matth. iii. 13—17.
3. Temptation of Christ. Mark i. 12, 13. Luke iv. 1—13. Matth. iv. 1—11.
4. Christ's return to Galilee, and arrival at Capernaum. Mark i. 14. Luke iv. 14. Matth. iv. 12, 13.
5. Cure of Peter's mother-in-law. Mark i. 29—34. Luke iv. 38—41. Matth. viii. 14—17.
6. Cure of a leper. Mark i. 40—45. Luke v. 12—16. Matth. viii. 2—4.
7. Cure of a person afflicted with the palsy. Mark ii. 1—12. Luke v. 17—26. Matth. ix. 1—8.
8. Call of St. Matthew. Mark ii. 13—22. Luke v. 27—39. Matth. ix. 9—17.
9. Christ goes with his disciples through the corn fields. Mark ii. 23—28. Luke vi. 1—5. Matth. xii. 1—3.
10. Cure of a withered hand. Mark iii. 1—6. Luke vi. 6—11. Matth. xii. 9—15.
11. Preparation for the sermon on the mount. Mark iii. 7—19. Luke vi. 12—19. Matth. iv. 23—25.
12. Confutation of the opinion that Christ cast out devils by the assistance of Beelzebub. Mark iii. 20—30. Matth. xii. 22—45. (Perhaps formerly Luke also^o).

13. Arrival

^a Throughout all the following sections, which are common to all three Evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke have precisely the same order. But St. Matthew, though he has the same arrangement as St. Mark and St. Luke, from sect. 19 to the end, has arranged several of the eighteen first sections in a different manner. In these sections, therefore, at St. Mark and St. Luke agree, Eichhorn follows their order. See what he says, § 12.

^o Eichhorn means only, as appears from what he says, p. 860, that this section was, perhaps, in St. Luke's copy of the common document, as well as in the copies used by St. Matthew and St. Mark.

13. Arrival of the mother and brethren of Christ. Mark iii. 31—35. Luke viii. 19—21. Matth. xii. 46—50.
14. Parable of the sower. Mark iv. 1—34. Luke viii. 4—18. Matth. xiii. 1—34.
15. Christ crosses the sea, and undergoes a storm. Mark iv. 35—41. Luke viii. 22—25. Matth. viii. 18—27.
16. Transactions in the country of the Gadarenes. Mark v. 1—20. Luke viii. 26—39. Matth. viii. 28—34.
17. The daughter of Jairus restored to life. Mark v. 21—43. Luke viii. 40—56. Matth. ix. 18—26.
18. Christ sends out the twelve Apostles. Mark vi. 7—13. Luke ix. 1—6. Matth. x. 1—42.
19. The fame of Christ reaches the court of Herod. Matth. xiv. 1—12. Mark vi. 14—29. Luke ix. 7—9.
20. Five thousand men fed. Matth. xiv. 13—21. Mark vi. 30—44. Luke ix. 10—17.
21. Acknowledgement of the Apostles, that Christ is the Messiah. Matth. xvi. 13—28. Mark viii. 27—ix. 1. Luke ix. 18—27.
22. Transfiguration of Christ on the mount. Matth. xvii. 1—10. Mark ix. 2—9. Luke ix. 28—36.
23. Christ cures a demoniac, whom his Apostles were unable to cure. Matth. xvii. 14—21. Mark ix. 14—29. Luke ix. 37—43.
24. Christ foretells his death. Matth. xvii. 22, 23. Mark ix. 20—32. Luke ix. 43—45.
25. Dispute among the Apostles about precedence. Matth. xviii. 1—5. Mark ix. 33—37. Luke ix. 46—48.
26. Christ blesses children, who are brought to him, and answers the question, by what means salvation is to be obtained. Matth. xix. 13—30. Mark x. 13—31. Luke xviii. 15—30.
27. Christ again foretells his death. Matth. xx. 17—19. Mark x. 32—34. Luke xviii. 31—34.

28. Blind

28. Blind men at Jericho restored to sight. Matth. xx. 29—34. Mark x. 46—52. Luke xviii. 35—43.
29. Christ's public entry into Jerusalem. Matth. xxi. 1—11. Mark xi. 1—10. Luke xix. 29—44.
30. Christ expels the buyers and sellers from the temple. Matth. xxi. 12—14. Mark xi. 15—17. Luke xix. 45, 46.
31. Christ called to account by the chief priests and elders for teaching publicly in the temple. He answers them, and then delivers a parable. Matth. xxi. 23—27. 33—46. Mark xi. 27—xii. 12. Luke xx. 1—19.
32. On the tribute to Cæsar, and marriage with a brother's widow. Matth. xxii. 15—33. Mark xii. 15—37. Luke xx. 20—40.
33. Christ's discourse with the Pharisees relative to the Messiah being called Lord by David. Matth. xxii. 41—46. Mark xii. 35—37. Luke xx. 41—45.
34. The Pharisees censured by Christ. Matth. xxiii. 1, &c. Mark xii. 38—40. Luke xx. 45—47.
35. Christ foretells the destruction of Jerusalem. Matth. xxiv. 1—36. Mark xiii. 1—36. Luke xxi. 5—36.
36. Prelude to the account of Christ's passion. Matth. xxvi. 1—5. Mark xiv. 1, 2. Luke xxii. 1, 2.
37. Bribery of Judas: and the celebration of the Passover. Matth. xxvi. 14—29. Mark xiv. 10—25. Luke xxii. 3—23.
38. Christ goes to the mount of Olives. Matth. xxvi. 30—46. Mark xiv. 26—42. Luke xxii. 39—46.
39. He is seized by a guard from the chief priests. Matth. xxvi. 47—58. Mark xiv. 43—54. Luke xxii. 47—55.
40. Peter's denial of Christ, &c. Matth. xxvi. 69—xxvii. 19. Mark xiv. 66—xv. 10. Luke xxii. 56—xxiii. 17.

41. The crucifixion and death of Christ. Matth. xxvii. 20—66. Mark xv. 11—47. Luke xxiii. 18—56.
42. The resurrection. Matth. xxviii. 1, &c. Mark xvi. 1, &c. Luke xxiv. 1, &c.^p.

These were the contents, according to Eichhorn's hypothesis, of the original document supposed to have been used by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. They contain a short but well connected representation of the principal transactions of Christ, from his baptism to his death^q: they are such as might be expected in the first sketch of a narrative of Christ's ministry: and that a document with these contents really existed before the composition of our three first Gospels, is a supposition, which is attended with no internal improbability.

But though St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke, agree in each of these forty-two general sections, in relating the same principal fact, yet they are not always equally diffuse in the relation of the concomitant circumstances. For sometimes St. Matthew and St. Mark mention circumstances, which are unnoticed by St.

^p Of each of these forty-two sections, Eichhorn has given a very ingenious analysis, p. 801—920. The sections, which are common only to St. Matthew and St. Mark, are investigated, p. 921—950: those which are common only to St. Mark and St. Luke, p. 950—960: and those, which are common only to St. Matthew and St. Luke, p. 964—970.

^q Lardner likewise observed, in his History of the Apostles and Evangelists, Vol. I. ch. x. (Vol. VI. p. 288. ed. 1788), that, if all those sections, which are common to St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke, be separated from the other matter in their Gospels, 'they contain an entire Gospel, or a complete history of the ministry of Jesus Christ; or, to borrow St. Luke's expression, a history of all that Jesus both did and taught, until the day in which he was taken up into heaven.' Lardner then enumerates the principal materials, which are common to St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke, and concludes by saying: '*Here are all the integrals of a Gospel.*' Though the thought, therefore, that these integrals even existed by themselves in a separate work, did not occur to Lardner, he was not far from it.

St. Luke; at other times circumstances are mentioned by St. Matthew and St. Luke, which are unnoticed by St. Mark, and at other times again by St. Mark and St. Luke, which are unnoticed by St. Matthew. Likewise each Evangelist frequently mentions circumstances, which are unnoticed by the other two. In these forty-two sections therefore, sometimes St. Matthew has the shortest text, at other times St. Mark, at other times St. Luke. But as the forty-two principal facts, which are common to all three Evangelists, are supposed to have been contained in the original document, we must likewise suppose, in order to be consistent, that this document in each of the forty-two sections contained only so much matter, as is common to all three Evangelists. Consequently all the circumstances, which are mentioned by two of the Evangelists, but not by the third, and also those, which are mentioned by one of them, but not by the other two, must be considered as additions. Those of the former kind, or the circumstances mentioned by two of the Evangelists in the same section, but not by the third, must have been already noted in the two copies of the common document, which were used by those two Evangelists, since their agreement in making the same addition in the same place, would otherwise remain unexplained. The same inference may likewise be deduced in respect to those sections, in which two Evangelists agree in inserting in the same place, in addition to those sections, which are common to all three. To the original text therefore of the common document, which in its primitive state contained only so much matter of the forty-two sections, as is common to all three Evangelists, various additions were made in the several transcripts, which were taken of it^r. The copy used by St. Mat-

^r Namely, according to Eichhorn's hypothesis, the proprietors of different copies of this document added in the margin those circumstances, which had come to their knowledge, but which were unnoticed by the author or authors of the document, and these marginal additions were taken by subsequent transcribers into the text.

Matthew contained additions, some of which had been made likewise in the copy used by St. Mark, others in the copy used by St. Luke: St. Mark's copy contained additions, of which some had been made in St. Matthew's, others in St. Luke's copy: and accordingly St. Luke's copy contained additions, of which some had been made in St. Matthew's, others in St. Mark's copy. As to the additions, which each Evangelist has peculiar to himself, they may have been added either wholly or in part in the copy of the original document, which each Evangelist used, or he may have added them himself. In this manner, and not on the supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, Eichhorn accounts, 1st for the matter, which is common to all three, 2^{dly} for the matter, which is common to only two of them, and 3^{dly} for the matter, which is peculiar to each. And it must be granted that these three kinds of matter *may* be explained on Eichhorn's hypothesis, which the supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, *does not* explain. For, if we suppose, that the latest of the three writers copied from the other two, the supposition is so far from explaining, why one or both of those two Evangelists have matter, which the third has not, that great ingenuity is requisite to produce even a reconciliation between the supposition and the phænomena to be explained by it. So far then the hypothesis of a common original deserves the preference, as it accounts for what the other hypothesis does not. And if it can be proved, that the succeeding Evangelists did not use the Gospels of the preceding, we are reduced to the necessity of adopting the other hypothesis*, since one of the two must be adopted, as has been already shewn in the first section. Now it cannot

* But even then the question will remain to be determined: In what *form* shall we adopt the hypothesis of a common document? For the forms, which this hypothesis is capable of assuming, are much more numerous, than any one at first sight would imagine.

cannot be denied that Eichhorn has used very strong arguments in favour of this position[†]: but since certain phænomena in the verbal harmony of the Evangelists, which have been hitherto unnoticed, will be found to be of great importance in the decision of this question, and these phænomena cannot be stated, till the authorities have been produced, on which they are founded, the reader may suspend his judgment, till the authorities have been produced, and the phænomena stated, when this and every other opinion, which has been advanced in respect to the origin of our three first Gospels, will be put to the test.

The next question, which Eichhorn examines, relates to the language, in which the original document was written[‡]: and he is decidedly of opinion that it was written, not in Greek, but in Hebrew or Chaldee. For, if it be supposed, that our three first Evangelists drew from the same Greek source, the numerous examples in which different Greek words are used in their Gospels, to relate the same things, are incapable of explanation, since if the Evangelists agreed in relating the *matter* of their common document, no reason can be assigned for so frequent an alteration of the *words*. But, if we suppose, that the document was Hebrew or Chaldee, that our three first Greek Gospels, where they have matter in common with each other, contain translations of it, and that these translations were made independently of each other, the reason of the Evangelists having so frequently used different, but synonymous Greek expressions in relating the same things, is obvious.

[†] Pag. 766—775. and more particularly in his analysis of the forty-two general sections, in § 23. Also Halfeld, p. 9—39. and Ruffwurm, § 3—10. of the works above quoted have well argued on this question. See also what Lardner has said on the same side of the question, in his History of the Apostles and Evangelists, Vol. I. ch. x. of the edition printed in 1756, or Vol. VI. p. 223—233. of the edition of his works printed in 1788.

[‡] Pag. 781.

obvious^w. Thus far the hypothesis appears to answer the purposes, for which it was assumed: but when we come to the examples, in which the Evangelists relate the same things in the *same words*, which must be likewise explained, as well as the examples, in which they relate the same things in different words, Eichhorn's hypothesis is liable to an objection similar to that, which was made above in Sect. 3. to Griesbach's hypothesis; namely, that there are phænomena, for which Eichhorn's hypothesis does not *account*, and that at the utmost nothing more can be attempted, than to *reconcile* with the hypothesis certain phænomena, which ought to be explained by it. Besides, even though it were possible for Greek translators, who translated from the same Hebrew or Chaldee original, and, according to Eichhorn's hypothesis, without any connexion whatsoever with each other^x, to produce translations, which in such numerous and long examples agreed word for word, as we find especially in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and St. Matthew and St. Luke, it will appear hereafter that the phænomena in the verbal agreement of our three first Gospels are of such a particular description, as to be wholly incompatible with the notion of three independent translations of the same original.

^w Eichhorn further adds, not only that difficulties frequently attend their Greek expressions, which can be removed only by re-translating them into Hebrew, but that examples may be produced, which betray even an inaccuracy of translation. On this subject see Halfeld, p. 48—51.

^x Eichhorn says, § 14. 'We possess in our three first Gospels three translations of the above-mentioned short life of Christ, which were made independently of each other.'

CHAP. VI.

OF THE AUTHORS, WHO HAVE UNITED BOTH OF
THE PRECEDING SUPPOSITIONS.

FROM what has been said in the preceding sections it appears, that some critics adopt the hypothesis, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, while others reject it, and adopt the hypothesis of a Hebrew or Chaldee document, as the basis of our three first canonical Greek Gospels. To these may be added a third class of critics, who unite both hypotheses, as Bolten and Herder have done, though the systems, which these two learned writers have framed, are upon the whole very different from each other.

Bolten assumes, not only that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, but that his Hebrew Gospel was the ground-work of our three first Gospels^y, and that these contain different Greek translations from it: that our *Greek* Gospel of St. Matthew is a translation of the whole of it, to which perhaps some additions were made, that St. Mark's Gospel contains a Greek extract from it, and that St. Luke's Gospel likewise contains a Greek translation of many parts of it, to which St. Luke himself made many additions, which he derived from other sources. Further Bolten supposes, that the Greek translation of St. Matthew's Hebrew original was made before the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke were written, and that both St. Mark and St. Luke had recourse to it^z. In this manner

^y It has been already observed, that this opinion is likewise adopted by Corodi, and J. E. C. Schmidt.

^z This hypothesis Bolten delivers in the preface to his German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel published at Altona in 1792, and in the prefaces to his German translation of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, published at the same place, the one in 1795, the other in 1796.

ner he explains not only those examples, which appear to be different translations of the same original, but likewise all those examples, in which there is a verbal coincidence. For it may be said, that wherever St. Mark and St. Luke relate the same thing, that is related by St. Matthew, but in words different from those, which are used in St. Matthew's Greek Gospel, they translated for themselves without consulting that Greek Gospel, that where they relate the same thing in the same words, they had recourse to it, and lastly, that where St. Mark and St. Luke themselves have the same words, St. Luke had recourse to St. Mark's Gospel. But then Bolten's hypothesis labours on the other hand under all those difficulties, to which every hypothesis is exposed, as soon as it implies, that one Evangelist copied from the other. Even the supposition, that it was St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, which was the basis of our three first Greek Gospels, is liable to objection, unless we at the same time suppose, that the Gospel written by St. Matthew was much more concise in its accounts, than the first of our Greek Gospels, and that this was not so much a translation of St. Matthew's Hebrew original, as a work, of which the latter served only as the basis. For if the document, which is supposed to be the ground-work of the Greek Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, was as full in its accounts, as the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, it is difficult to assign a reason, why St. Mark and St. Luke neglected so much important matter, to which in this case they might have had access, and which deserved their attention, as much as it deserved the attention of St. Matthew's Greek translator. Now it is not adviseable to adopt without necessity an hypothesis, which will almost oblige us to suppose that our first Greek Gospel is not so much the work of St. Matthew, as of some unknown person. Besides it will appear hereafter, that, if St. Matthew himself wrote in Hebrew, the common opinion that the first of our Greek Gospels is a close translation of it, and therefore that

that it is justly entitled to the name, which it bears, will answer all the purposes, for which hypotheses have been invented, at least as well as any other opinion.

Herder, the latest writer on the origin of our three first Gospels^a, agrees with Eichhorn in assuming a common Hebrew or Chaldee Gospel (*Evangelium commune*) as the ground-work of our three first Greek Gospels^b, and likewise agrees with him in the opinion, that this common Gospel was neither the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as Lessing and Niemeyer suppose, nor a Hebrew Gospel written by St. Matthew, as Corodi, J. F. Schmidt, and Bolten suppose^c. But in most other respects Herder's opinion is different from that of Eichhorn. For according to Eichhorn, and indeed according to every other critic, who has adopted a similar hypothesis, the common Gospel was a *written document*: but according to Herder it was a mere *verbal* Gospel, and consisted only in the preaching (*κηρυγμα*) of the first teachers of Christianity^c. And according to the form of this oral Gospel, or preaching, the written Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke were regulated: whence arose their similarity. It is useless however, as Herder further asserts^d, to examine the *words* used in our three first Gospels, for this very reason, that they proceeded not from a written document, but from a mere oral Gospel, or preaching: and accordingly in his opinion^e, whoever attempts by an analysis of our three first Gospels to discover the contents of a supposed common document, can never succeed in the undertaking. Eichhorn how-
how-

^a Herder's hypothesis is delivered in the third volume of his *Christliche Schriften*, that is, *Christian Writings*, (Riga, 1797, 8vo.) p. 303—416.

^b Pag. 398.

^c Pag. 320. He says also, p. 411. that it had been propagated verbally thirty years, when the substance of it was committed to writing in three different Gospels.

^d Pag. 396.

^e Pag. 397.

ever has not only made the attempt, but appears in his analysis to have been very successful. And if it be true, that a common Gospel was the basis of our three first canonical Gospels, it is hardly credible, that it should not have been committed to writing, since every Christian, who had once heard so important a relation, must have wished to write down at least the principal materials of it, had it been only to assist his own memory. Besides a mere oral narrative, after it had gone through so many different mouths in the course of so many years, must at length have acquired such a variety of forms, that it must have ceased to deserve the title of *Evangelium commune*: and therefore the supposition, that our three first Gospels were moulded in *one* form, is difficult to be reconciled with the opinion of a mere oral Gospel, which must necessarily have assumed a diversity of forms^f. Another difference between the hypotheses of Herder and Eichhorn consists in the relation, which our three first Greek Gospels are supposed to bear to the common Gospel: for according to Eichhorn, the text of the common Gospel is sometimes contained with the fewest additions in that of St. Matthew, at other times in that of St. Mark, at other times again in that of St. Luke: but Herder supposes that St. Mark's text in general approaches the nearest to that of the common original, and considers St. Mark's Gospel as little more than the oral Gospel committed to writing in Greek^g. Lastly, Eichhorn absolutely rejects the opinion that any one of our three first Evangelists used the Gospels of the others: but Herder supposes, that St. Luke used both the Greek Gospel

^f Though Herder has in so many places positively asserted that the *Evangelium commune* was propagated only by word of mouth, he seems to have been in one place aware of the objections here made: for in p. 378, but in that place alone, he uses the expression '*Privatschrift*,' which signifies a private writing. But if it was once committed to writing, the propagation of it was not merely oral, however private the copies of it may be supposed to have been kept.

^g Pag. 331. 339. 414.

^h Pag. 413—415.

Gospel of St. Mark, and the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, which in his opinion was the same, as that, which was called the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and of which our first Greek Gospel is not a close, but a free translation with alterations.

CHAP. VII.

STATEMENT OF THE PARALLEL AND COINCIDENT PASSAGES OF THE THREE FIRST GOSPELS. RESULT OF THIS STATEMENT: AND AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL VERY REMARKABLE PHÆNOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

SUCH are the various opinions, which are entertained by the learned in respect to the origin of our three first Gospels. Each supposition has its advantages: but not one of all these, in the forms, in which they have been hitherto delivered, answers all the purposes, which ought to be answered by an hypothesis, for none of them accounts for *all* the phænomena, which are observable in our three first Gospels. The supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, even if it accounts for the matter, which is common to all three Evangelists, and for the examples of verbal agreement, does not account either for the important matter, which one Evangelist has less than the other, or for the examples of apparent disagreement, or for the examples, in which the same thing is related in different, but synonymous terms. On the other hand, if we reject the supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, and suppose that our three first Greek Gospels were derived from the same *Greek* document, this hypothesis, even if it accounts

counts both for the matter, which the Evangelists have in common with each other, and for the matter which they have not in common with each other, and also for the examples of verbal agreement, still leaves the numerous examples, in which the Evangelists relate the same things in different but synonymous terms, wholly unexplained. Further, if we adopt the hypothesis, that our three first Greek Gospels contain three independent translations of the same *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* original, however well we may be able to explain the other phænomena, we shall never be able to account for the numerous and long examples in which sometimes St. Matthew and St. Mark, at other times St. Matthew and St. Luke agree word for wordⁱ. And, if in order to account for their verbal agreement, we suppose that the Evangelists used their common document, not in its original language, but only in a Greek translation^k, we shall be at a loss to explain their frequent use at other times, not of the same, but of synonymous expressions. Lastly, if we combine the hypothesis, that the Evangelists used a common *Hebrew* document, with the hypothesis, that they had recourse likewise, the one to the writings of the other, we shall find that several phænomena, which are explicable by the former hypothesis alone, are rendered inexplicable by its junction with the latter.

But

ⁱ Semler in his Remarks on Townson's Discourses, Vol. I. p. 222, 223. removes at once all difficulty on this head by attributing the verbal harmony of the Evangelists to later alterations made by transcribers of the Gospels. But it will appear hereafter that the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels is of such a particular description, that it lay not within the power of transcribers to have produced it.

^k The author of the 'Attempt to illustrate the Canon,' adopts this opinion, Vol. II. p. 152. Also Professor Vogel at Altorf in his *Commentatio de conjecturæ usu in crisi Novi Testamenti* (Altorfii, 1795, 4to.) p. 14, where he speaks of the hypothesis of a common *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* document, says, 'Si libro usi sunt in Evangeliiis suis conscribendis, *Græca ejus versione* usos esse patet ex rarioribus verbis et dicendi formulis, quas in una re describenda singuli adhibent.

But since the hypothesis of a common Hebrew or Chaldee original may be represented in a great variety of forms, and is capable of being combined with various other suppositions, it is not impossible, that some form and some combination, hitherto not made, may solve the phænomena of every description. In the following inquiry therefore an attempt will be made to discover, if possible, such a form and such a combination, as will answer the proposed end. For this purpose it will be necessary to state, in the first place, all the parallel passages of our three first Gospels, in which there is a verbal agreement, to analyse these passages, and to reduce the manifold phænomena in the verbal agreement and disagreement of our three first Gospels to certain classes. We shall then have a very accurate touchstone, by which not only any general hypothesis, but each particular form of it may be tried. That is, if we apply to it the hypothesis, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, we shall be able to judge of each particular case of that general supposition. And if we apply to it the hypothesis, that a Hebrew or Chaldee document was the basis of our three first Gospels, we shall be equally well able to judge of the validity or invalidity of each particular form, in which this general supposition may be represented. We shall be able to determine, whether it is possible that our three first Gospels contain three translations from a Hebrew document made independently of each other: and, if it shall be found that they do not, we shall be able further to determine even the particular connexion, which subsisted between them. We shall be able to decide on the questions, whether the Evangelists themselves used copies of the supposed Hebrew document, or whether they had only Greek translations of it; whether one of them used the original, and the other two a translation, or whether one only used a translation, and the other two the original, with

with many others of the same kind¹. For the phenomena in the verbal harmony of the Evangelists, as will appear hereafter, afford so severe a test, that no other assignable cause, than that by which the effects were really produced, can be expected to account for them. And if it shall appear on actual trial, that only one among the numerous forms of the general hypothesis answers our purpose, we may be certain that none of the others can be true. But whether that, which does explain the phenomena in the verbal agreement and disagreement^m of the Evangelists, is itself the true one, depends again on the question, whether it accounts for the contents and arrangement of the Gospels.

In the following Table of parallel and coincident passages, the statements will be made according to the sections adopted by Eichhornⁿ. It will consist of four divisions: in the first of which will be contained the sections which are common to all three Evangelists, in the second the sections which are common only to St. Matthew and St. Mark, in the third the sections common only to St. Mark and St. Luke, and in the fourth division will be contained the sections, which are common only to St. Matthew and St. Luke. But as the design of the following Table is to represent at one view the parallel passages, which have a verbal agreement, all those sections will of course be omitted, which furnish no examples of verbal agreement, and in the sections, which furnish such examples, those examples

¹ Even Eichhorn, who has displayed so much critical ability and penetration in his Analysis of our three first Gospels, leaves these questions undecided for want of sufficient data. The only determinate position which he assumes is, that the three translations were made independently of each other. See page 784.

^m By 'verbal disagreement' I understand the use of different words in relating the same things.

ⁿ Several sections however will be added to the catalogue of those, which are common only to St. Matthew and St. Luke.

examples only will be quoted. Consequently, in all those sections which are wholly omitted, and also in the omitted parts of the noticed sections, the matter which is common either to all three Evangelists, or to any two of them may be considered as delivered in different words °.

° Unless I have overlooked some examples of parallel passages delivered in the same words, which however I have endeavoured to avoid, as much as possible, having carefully compared our three first Gospels several times.

TABLE

Of Parallel and Coincident Passages in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke.

FIRST DIVISION.

EXAMPLES IN THE XLII. SECTIONS COMMON TO ALL THREE.

SECT. I.

John the Baptist.

Matth. iii. 1—12.

Mark i. 2—8.

3. Φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερημω· ετοιμασατε την οδον κυριου, ευθειας ποιετε τας τριβυς αυτου.

3. Φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερημω· ετοιμασατε την οδον κυριου, ευθειας ποιεειτε τας τριβυς αυτου.

6. Και εξαπιζοντο εν τω Ιορδανη υπ' αυτου εξομολογουμενοι τας αμαρτίας αυτων.

5. Και εξαπιζοντο παντες εν τω Ιορδανη^b ποταμω υπ' αυτου εξομολογουμενοι τας αμαρτίας αυτων.

7. Γεννηματα εχιδνων τις υπεδειξεν υμιν φυγειν απο της μελλουσας οργης;

This part of the address of John the Baptist to the Pharisees and Sadducees is not in St. Mark's Gospel.

8, 9. Ποιησατε εν καρπες^c αξιους της μετάνοιας· και μη δοξητε λεγειν εν εαυτοις, πα-

TABLE

Of Parallel and Coincident Passages in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke.

FIRST DIVISION.

EXAMPLES IN THE XLII. SECTIONS COMMON TO ALL THREE.

SECT. I.

John the Baptist.

Luke iii. 1—18.

REMARKS.

4. Φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερη-
μω· ετοιμασατε την οδον κυριου,
ευθειας ποιετε τας τριβας
αυτου^a.

5, 6. A continuation of
the quotation from Isaiah
xl.

To this verse there is
nothing which corresponds
in St. Luke's text.

7. Γεννηματα εχιδνων τις
υπεδειξεν υμιν φυγειν απο της
μελλουσας οργης;

8. Ποιησατε εν καρπυς
αξιους της μελαινιας· και μη
αρεξησθε λεγειν εν εαυτοις, πα-

^a In this quotation from Isai.
xl. 3. all three differ from the
LXX. and likewise from the He-
brew, and all three agree in the
same deviation. Instead of τας
τριβας αυτου, the LXX. has τας
τριβας τε Θεου ημων, and the He-
brew מַסְלָה לְאַלְהֵינוּ. How-
ever it may be said that in the ori-
ginal Hebrew document, which
formed the basis of the three first
Gospels, מַסְלָה was used, and
that hence arose their agreement
with each other, in their devia-
tion from the LXX. St. Luke
has continued the quotation from
Isaiah xl. and quoted not only
ver. 3. but also ver. 4, 5. agree-
ing throughout precisely with
the LXX. according to the Alex-
andrine MS. with the exception
of the words just noted, in which

he agrees with St. Matthew and St. Mark. Nor has the text of the
Vatican MS. any other difference, beside πεδια, instead of οδου
λαιας.

^b Griesbach's text is Και εβαπτισοντο εν τω Ιορδανη.

^c Griesbach's text is καρπον αξιον,

Matth. iii. 1—12.

τερα εχομεν τον Αβρααμ·
λεγω γαρ υμιν, οτι δυναται
ο Θεος εκ των λιθων τειλων
εγειραι τεκνα τῷ Αβρααμ.

10. Ηδη δε και η αχνη
προς την ριζαν των δενδρων
κειται· παν εν δενδρον μη
ποιεν καρπον καλον εκκοπιηται
και εις πυρ βαλληται.

11. Εγω μεν βαπτισω υμας
εν υδατι εις μετανοian· ο δε
οπισω με ερχομενος ισχυρο-
τερος με ειν, ε εκ ειμι ικα-
νος τα υποδηματα βασαι·
αυλος υμας βαπτισει εν πνευ-
ματι αγιω και πυρι.

12. Ου το πλυνεν εν τη
χειρι αυτε, και διακαθαριει
την αλωνα αυτε· και συναξει
τον σιλον αυτε^d εις την απο-
θηκην, το δε αχυρον καλα-
καυσει πυρι ασβεσω.

Mark i. 2—8.

This part of the address
of John the Baptist to the
Pharisees and Sadducees is
not in St. Mark's Gospel.

7. ερχεται ο ισχυροτερος
με οπισω με, ε εκ ειμι ικανος
κυψας λυσαι τον ιμαντα των
υποδηματων αυτε.

To this verse there is
nothing which corresponds
in St. Mark's Gospel.

Luke iii. 1—18.

REMARKS.

τερα εχομεν τον Αβρααμ·
λεγω γαρ υμιν, οτι δυναται
ο Θεος εκ των λιθων τελων
εγειραι τέκνα τῷ Αβρααμ.

9. Ἡδη δε και ἡ ἀξινη
προς την ριζαν των δενδρων
κείλται· παν εν δενδρον μη
ποιεν καρπον καλον εκκοπείται
και εις πυρ βαλλέται.

10—15. An insertion
made by St. Luke alone.

16. Εγω μεν ὕδατι βαπ-
τιζω ὑμας·

ερχέται δε ὁ ισχυροτερος μου,
ὃς καὶ εἰμι ἱκανος λυσαι τον
ἱμάντα των ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ·
αὐτος ὑμας βαπτισει εν πνευ-
ματι ἁγίῳ και πυρι.

17. Οὐ το πλυνον εν τη
χειρι αὐτοῦ, και διακαθαριει
την ἄλωνα αὐτοῦ· και συναξει
τον σίλον εις την αποθηκην
αὐτοῦ*, το δε αχυρον καὶ ἀ-
καυσει πυρι ἀσβεσῶ.

^d Griesbach has rejected αὐτῶ.
N. B. For the sake of abbrevia-
tion Griesbach's text will, in the
following remarks, be denoted
by G.

^e Here αὐτῶ is not contained
in D. 13. 19. Copt. Cant.

S E C T. III.

Temptation of Christ.

Matth. iv. 4—11.

4. Γεγραπται, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀρτῶ
μονῶ ζήσει· ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἀλλ'
ἐπὶ πάντι ρηματί ἐκπορευομένου
δια σωματος Θεοῦ.

5, 6. Τότε παραλαμβάνει
αὐτὸν ὁ διαβολὸς εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν
πόλιν·

καὶ ἰστησιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πτε-
ρυγιὸν τῆς ἱερᾶς ^α. Καὶ λέγει
αὐτῷ· εἰ υἱὸς εἰ τῆς Θεοῦ, βάλε
σεαυτὸν κατῶ· γεγραπται γὰρ,
ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτῆς ἐνέ-
λειπαι πτερί· καὶ ἐπὶ χει-
ρῶν ἄρῃσι σε, μηποῖε προσ-
κοψῆς πρὸς λίθον τὸν ποδὰ σε·

10. Τότε λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ
Ἰησοῦς ὑπάγε ^δ Σάτανε
γεγραπται γὰρ κυρίῳ τῷ
Θεῷ σε προσκυνήσεις, καὶ
αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις ^ε.

Mark i. 12, 13.

To that, which is quo-
ted in this section from St.
Matthew and St. Luke,
there is nothing, which
corresponds in St. Mark ^h.

SECT. III.

Temptation of Christ.

Luke iv. 1—13.

REMARKS.

4. Γεγραπται, ὅτι ἐκ ἐπ'
ἀβῶ μου ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντι ρηματι.

Θεο

9, 10, 11. Καὶ ἤγαγεν
αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ,
καὶ ἐσησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πτε-
ρυγιὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ,
εἰ ὁ^b υἱὸς εἶ τῷ Θεῷ, βάλε
σεαυτὸν ἐντευθεν κατὰ γε-
γραπται γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις
αὐτὸς ἐντελεῖται περὶ σε, τὰ
διαφυλάξαι σε·

καὶ ὅτι^c ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρᾷ σε
μηποτε προσκοίψῃς πρὸς λίθον
τον ποδα σε.

8. Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ
εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὑπάγε ὀπίσω με
Σατανᾶ^e. γεγραπται γὰρ^f
προσκυνητεὶς κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ
σε· καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις,

^a The expression πτερυγιὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ deserves particularly to be noted. Πτερυγιὸν occurs in no other place, either in St. Matthew's or St. Luke's Gospel, nor indeed in any other passage throughout the whole N. T. It sometimes occurs in the LXX. but is never applied to a building: nor is it ever applied in this manner in any classic author. Is it credible then, that two independent translators should agree in translating the same Hebrew expression, in the same place, by the same Greek expression, πτερυγιὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, when that Greek expression is so very unusual, that it has hitherto been discovered in no other author, either sacred or profane, and they themselves have never used it on any other occasion?

^b — ὁ G.^c — ὅτι. G.^d + ὀπίσω με. G.^e — ὑπάγε ὀπίσω με Σάτανᾶ. G.^f — γὰρ. G.

^g The words of the LXX. Deut. vi. 13. are Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ σε φοβήθησιν, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις. Also, Deut. x. 20. Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ σε φοβήθησιν, καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις. Both St. Matthew and St. Luke have προσκυνήσεις instead of φοβήθησιν: and thus not only differ from the LXX. but agree with each other in this difference. The other quotations in this section are of less consequence, because they agree with the LXX.

^h It may be here observed once for all, that where a vacant space is left in any of the columns, and no particular mention is made, that the Gospel, which belongs to that column, has less there, than the other two, it may be inferred that the same thing is related, but in different words, and that on this account only no quotation is made.

SECT. VI.

Cure of a Leper.

Matth. viii. 2—4.

2. Κυριε, εαν θελης δυνασαι με καθαρισαι·

3. Και εκτεινας την χειρα ηψατο αυτη ο Ιησους, λεγων θελω καθαρισθητι. και ευθεως εκαθαρισθη αυτη η λεπρα.

4. Και λεγει αυτω ο Ιησους, ορα μηδενι ειπης· αλλ' υπαγε σεαυτονδειξον τω ιερει, και προσενεγκε το δωρον, ο προσεταξε Μωσης εις μαρτυριον αυτοις.

Mark i. 40—45.

40. Εαν θελης δυνασαι με καθαρισαι.

41. Ο δε Ιησους σπλαγχνισθεις εκτεινας την χειρα ηψατο αυτη, και λεγει αυτω, θελω καθαρισθητι.

42. Και ειπων^α αυτη, ευθεως απηλθεν απ' αυτης η λεπρα, και εκαθαρισθη^β.

43. An addition in St. Mark, not contained either in St. Matthew or in St. Luke.

44. Και λεγει αυτω ορα μηδενι μηδεν^γ ειπης, αλλ' υπαγε σεαυτονδειξον τω ιερει, και προσενεγκε περι τε καθαρισμω^δ σε α προσεταξε Μωσης εις μαρτυριον αυτοις^δ.

45. Here is an addition in St. Mark and St. Luke not contained in St. Matthew: but in this addition the words used by St Mark are very different from those of St Luke, ch. v. 15, 16.

SECT. VI.

Cure of a leper.

Luke v. 12—16.

REMARKS.

12. Κυριε, εαν θελης δυνα-
σαι με καθαρισαι.

13. Και εκτεινας την χειρα
ηψατο αυτη, ειπων, θελω καθ-
αρισθητι
και ευθεις η λεπρα απηλθεν
απ' αυτης.

^a Ειποις αυτης is not in B.D.L.
69. 102. Syr. Ar. p. Perf. p.
Copt. cant. veron. vere. colb.
corb. 2. germ. 1.

^b In this verse St. Mark's text
contains partly that of St. Luke,
partly that of St. Matthew.

^c — μηδεν. A.D.L. 33. 69.
124. Ev. 19. al. 4. MS. e. x. x.
Syr. Arm. Vulg. It. Vict. Theo-
phyl.

14.

αλλα απελθων δειξον σεαυτον
τω ιερει, και προσενεγκε περι-
τε καθαρισμους καθως προσ-
ελαξε Μωσης εις μαρτυριον
αυτοις.

15, 16.

^d Here St. Mark's text con-
tains partly St. Matthew's and
partly St. Luke's. He agrees
with St. Luke in περι τε καθα-
ρισμους: in the rest of the
verse he agrees with St. Mat-
thew. Whether examples of this
kind prove that St. Mark copied
partly from St. Matthew and
partly from St. Luke, or whe-
ther they may be explained even
on the hypothesis that none of
the three Evangelists saw each
other's writings, is a question
to be considered hereafter.

S E C T. VII.

Cure of a person afflicted with the palsy.

Matth. ix. 1—8.

2. Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πίσιν αὐτῶν, εἶπε τῷ παραλυτικῷ, θάρσει τέκνον, ἀφεῶναί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σῶ;

4, 5.

Τί γὰρ ἐστὶν ευκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν ἀφεῶναί σοι^c αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, ἢ εἰπεῖν, ἐγείραι,

καὶ περιπατεῖν;

6. Ἵνα δὲ εἰδῇτε ὅτι ἐξέσταν ἐχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας, κ.τ.λ.

Mark ii. 1—12.

5. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πίσιν αὐτῶν, λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ, τέκνον, ἀφεῶναί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σῶ^a;

8, 9. Τί ταῦτα διαλογίζεσθαι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν; τί ἐστὶν ευκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν τῷ παραλυτικῷ ἀφεῶναί σοι^c αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, ἢ εἰπεῖν, ἐγείραι^d καὶ^e ἄρῃ σὲ τὸν κράββατον, καὶ περιπατεῖν;

10. Ἵνα δὲ εἰδῇτε ὅτι ἐξέσταν ἐχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς^e ἁμαρτίας, κ.τ.λ.

S E C T. VIII.

Call of St. Matthew to the apostleship.

Matth. ix. 9—17.

10. Καὶ ἐγενέσθη, αὐτὸς ἀνακειμένος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, καὶ ἰδὼς πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐλθοῦντες συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.

Mark ii. 13—22.

15. Καὶ ἐγενέσθη ἐν τῷ κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοί, καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.

S E C T. VII.

Cure of a person afflicted with the palsy.

Luke v. 17—26.

REMARKS.

20. Καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν πίστιν
αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτῷ^b, ἄνθρωπε,
ἀφεῶναί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου;

^a Griesbach's text is ἀφεῶναί
σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι.

22, 23. Τί διαλογίζεσθε
ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν;

^b Griesbach has rejected αὐτῷ.

τί ἐσιν εὐκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν,
ἀφεῶναί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου,
ἢ εἰπεῖν ἐγείραι^f

^c In Griesbach's text is σου.

^d Ἐγείρε. G.

^e —καί. G.

^f Ἐγείρε. G

καὶ περὶ παλι;

^g Ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφίεναι. G.

24. Ἵνα δε εἰδῇτε ὅτι ἐξου-
σίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφίεναι ἁμαρ-
τίας, κ.τ.λ.

S E C T. VIII.

Call of St. Matthew to the apostleship.

Luke v. 27—39.

REMARKS

Matth. ix. 9—17.

11. Και ιδούτες οἱ φαρι-
σαιοὶ

εἶπον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτῶν,
διαβί μείλα των τελωνων και
ἀμαρτωλων εσθιει ὁ διδασκαλος
ὑμων;

12, 13. Ο δε Ιησους ἀπε-
σας, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἔχρειαν
ἐχουσιν οἱ ἰσχυροὶς ἰατρῶν,
ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἐχούτες· πορευ-
θέντες δε μαθεῖτε, τί ἐσιν,
ἐλεον θελω, καὶ ἔθυσιν· ἔ-
γὰρ ἦλθον καλεσαι δικαίους,
ἀλλ' ἀμαρτωλὸς εἰς μέλα-
νοιαν^b.

15. Ἐλευσούται δε ἡμέραι
ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ^c ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ
νυμφίος, καὶ τότε νηστεύουσιν.

16. Οὐδεὶς δε ἐπιβάλλει
ἐπιβλημα ρακῆς ἀγναφῇ ἐπὶ
ἱμάτιῳ παλαιῷ· αἶρει γὰρ το
πληρωμα αὐτῆς ἀπο τοῦ ἱματίου,
καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γινέται.

17.

καὶ ἀμ-
φότερα^e συνήρηνται.

Mark ii. 13—22.

16. Καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς,
καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι· ιδούτες
αὐτὸν ἐσθίουσα μείλα των τε-
λωνων καὶ ἀμαρτωλων, ἐλεγον
τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτῶν· τί ὅτι
μείλα των τελωνων καὶ ἀμαρ-
τωλων εσθιει καὶ πίνει^a;

17. Καὶ ἀπεσας ὁ Ιησους
λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἔχρειαν ἐχουσιν
οἱ ἰσχυροὶς ἰατρῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ
κακῶς ἐχούτες.

ἐκ ἦλθον καλεσαι δικαίους ἀλλ'
ἀμαρτωλὸς εἰς μέλανοιαν^b.

20. Ἐλευσούται δε ἡμέραι
ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ
νυμφίος, καὶ τότε νηστεύουσιν
ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις^d.

21. Καὶ^e ὅστις ἐπιβλημα
ρακῆς ἀγναφῇ ἐπιρραπῇ ἐπὶ
ἱμάτιῳ παλαιῷ· εἰ δε μὴ,
αἶρει το πληρωμα αὐτῆς το
καινον τε παλαιῶν, καὶ χεῖρον
σχίσμα γινέται.

22. Καὶ ὅστις βάλλει οἶνον
νεον εἰς ἀσκὸς παλαιῶν· εἰ δε
μὴ, ρήσσει ὁ οἶνος ὁ νεὸς τῶν
ἀσκηδων, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἐκχέται,
καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολενύται· ἀλλὰ
οἶνον νεον εἰς ἀσκὸς καινὸς
βλήσκει^f.

Luke v. 27—39.

REMARKS.

^a Ver. 15, 16. St. Mark's text is that of St. Matthew, with additions.

^b Griesbach has rejected *εἰς μετανοίαν* from the text both of St. Matthew and of St. Mark.

^c All three Evangelists agree in this place in using the verb *απαίρω*, though they have never used it on any other occasion. But, what is most remarkable, they all agree in using it in the passive voice, though *απαίρω*, in the active voice, signifies 'discedo.' *Απαίρω* occurs nearly 100 times in the LXX. but is never used there in the passive: nor have I ever seen an instance quoted from a classic author. Is it probable then that *ὅταν απαρθῇ* would have been used in all three texts, if they contained three independent translations?

^d *Εν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.* G.

^e — *Και.* G.

^f In this section St. Mark's text agrees partly with that of St. Matthew, partly with that of St. Luke.

^g *Ἀμφοτέροι.* G.

35. Ἐλευσούλαι δὲ ἡμέραι
καὶ ἔταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ
νυμφίος, τότε νηφευσσιν ἐν
ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις.

37, 38. Καὶ ᾗδεῖς βαλλεῖ
θῖνον νεὸν εἰς ἀσκὺς παλαιᾶς·
εἰ δὲ μὴγε ρηξεί ὁ νεὸς οἶνος
τῆς ἀσκὺς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκχυθή-
σεται, καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολείπαι·
ἀλλὰ οἶνον νεὸν εἰς ἀσκὺς
καὶ νέας βλήθει· καὶ ἀμφοτέροι
συνήρῃται.

SECT. IX.

Christ goes with his disciples through the corn fields.

Matth. xii. 1—8.

3. Οὐκ ἀνεγνώσε τι ἐποίησε
Δαβὶδ, ὅτε ἐπεινάσεν αὐλὸς ^a
καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶ;

4. Πῶς ἐσηλθεν εἰς τὸν
οἶκον τῶ Θεοῦ,
καὶ τὰς ἀρτὰς τῆς προθέσεως
ἐφαγεν, ἕως ἃς ἔχον ἦν αὐτῶ
φαγεῖν, ὅδε τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶ, εἰ
μὴ τοῖς ἱερευσὶ μόνοις;

Mark ii. 23—28.

25. Οὐδε ποῦς ἀνεγνώσε τι
ἐποίησε Δαβὶδ, ὅτε χρειαὶ
ἔσχε, καὶ ἐπεινάσεν αὐλὸς καὶ
οἱ μετ' αὐτῶ;

26. Πῶς ἐσηλθεν εἰς τὸν
οἶκον τῶ Θεοῦ, ἐπὶ Ἀβιαθαῖ τῶ
ἀρχιερέως, καὶ τὰς ἀρτὰς τῆς
προθέσεως ἐφαγεν ἕως ἃς ἔξει
φαγεῖν ^b,
εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἱερευσὶ;

27, 28. Καὶ ἐλεγεν αὐ-
τοῖς.

Here follows a passage
not contained either in
St. Matthew or in St.
Luke.

ὥστε κυρίῳ ^c ἐσιν ὁ υἱὸς ^c τῶ
ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶ σαββᾶθ ^c.

S E C T. IX.

Christ goes with his disciples through the corn fields.

Luke vi. 1—5.

REMARKS.

^a — αὐτος. G.

5. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,

^b Hitherto St. Mark's text is that of St. Matthew with additions: but in this place it has not εἶπεν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ. However at the end of this verse St. Mark has added καὶ ἔδωκε καὶ τοῖς συν αὐτῷ ἔσθαι.

ὅτι κύριος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὰ σαββάτα.

^c In this section again St. Mark's text agrees partly with that of St. Matthew, partly with that of St. Luke.

S E C T. X.

Cure of a withered hand.

Matth. xii. 9—15.

11. Similar question :
but very different words.

13. Τότε λεγει τῷ ανθρω-
πῳ, εκλινον την χειρα σου·
και εξελεινε. και αποκαλισταθη
ιγιης ὡς ἡ αλλη.

Mark iii. 1—6.

4. Εξεσι τοις σαββασιν
αγαθοποιησαι, η κακοποιησαι;
ψυχην σωσαι, η αποκλιναι;

5. Και περιβλεψαμεν
αυτον μετ' οργης, συλλυπε-
μενος επι τη πωρωσει της καρ-
διας αυτου, λεγει τῷ ανθρωπῳ,
εκλινον την χειρα σου· και
εξελεινε· και αποκαλισταθη ἡ
χειρ αυτου υγιης ὡς ἡ αλλη^b.

SECT. X.

Cure of a withered hand.

Luke vi. 6—11.

REMARKS.

9. Ἐξεῖς τοῖς σαββάσιν
ἀγαθοποιῆσαι, ἢ κακοποιῆσαι;
ψυχὴν σῶσαι, ἢ ἀπολέσαι^a;

^a ἀποκτείνει. G.

10. Καὶ περιβλεψάμενος
πάντας αὐτοῦς,

^b — ὕγιος ὡς ἡ ἀλλῇ. G.

εἶπε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,
ἐκλείνου τὴν χεῖρα σου· ὁ δὲ
ἐποίησεν ἕτω· καὶ ἀποκαλίσ-
ταθῇ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ὕγιος^c ὡς
ἡ ἀλλῇ.

^c — ὕγιος. G.

S E C T. XIV.

Parable of the sower*.

Matth. xiii. 1—20. Mark iv. 1—20. Luke viii. 4—15.

Matth. xiii.

3. Ἰδοὺ, ἐξηλθεν ὁ σπείρων, τὴν σπείρειν.

4. Καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτοῦ, αἱ μὲν ἐπέσε παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἤλθε τὰ πτεῖναι, καὶ κατεφαγεν αὐτὰ.

5. Ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πείρωδες, ὅπερ οὐκ εἶχε γῆν πολλήν· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξάνειλε, διὰ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι βάθος γῆς.

6. Ἦλκε δὲ ἀναλείλατος, ἐκαυμαίσθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ρίζαν, ἐξηρανθῆ.

7. Ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκαθίας· καὶ ἀνέθησαν αἱ ἀκαθίαι, καὶ ἀνεπνίξαν αὐτὰ.

8, 9. Ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν· καὶ ἐδίδε καρπὸν·

ὁ μὲν ἑκάστον, ὁ δὲ ἑξήκοντα, ὁ δὲ τριακοντα.

ὁ ἔχων ὡς ἀκρεῖν ἀκρεῖται.

Mark iv.

3. Ἰδοὺ, ἐξηλθεν ὁ σπείρων, τὴν σπείρειν·

4. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπείρειν, ὁ μὲν ἐπέσε παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν· καὶ ἤλθε τὰ πτεῖναι τὰ ἔρποντα καὶ κατεφαγεν αὐτοῦ.

5. Ἄλλο δὲ ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πείρωδες, ὅπερ οὐκ εἶχε γῆν πολλήν· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξάνειλε διὰ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι βάθος γῆς.

6. Ἦλκε δὲ ἀναλείλατος ἐκαυμαίσθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ρίζαν, ἐξηρανθῆ.

7. Καὶ ἄλλο ἐπέσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκαθίας· καὶ ἀνέθησαν αἱ ἀκαθίαι, καὶ συνεπνίξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ καρπὸν οὐκ ἔδωκε.

8, 9. Καὶ ἄλλο ἐπέσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν· καὶ ἐδίδε καρπὸν

ἑκατακοντα καὶ ἑξακοντα καὶ ἔφερεν·

ἐν τριακοντα, καὶ ἐν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑκάστον.

καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς,

ὁ ἔχων ὡς ἀκρεῖν ἀκρεῖται.

S E C T. XIV.

Parable of the sower*.

REMARKS.

* This section, according to Eichhorn's statement, includes Matth. xiii. 1—34. Mark iv. 1—34. Luke viii. 4—18. But I have shortened these portions, because the parable of the sower, including even the explanation of it, extends no further, than Matth. xiii. 23. Mark iv. 20. Luke viii. 15. The remaining part of these portions relates to different subjects, which are moreover not common to all three Evangelists, for Mark iv. 21—25. Luke viii. 16—18. is peculiar to St. Mark and St. Luke. Mark iv. 26—32. Matth. xiii. 24—32. contains parables, which are not in St. Luke.

^a —Τὸ ἔργον. G. and no doubt can be made that this addition was not originally contained in St. Mark's text.

^b St. Mark uses, throughout, the singular number ὁ, ἁὐτο, &c. instead of αἱ, αὐτα, &c. as St. Luke has done, who has likewise the singular number. But in other respects the words of St. Luke are for the most part different from those of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

^c To this verse there is nothing which corresponds in St. Luke's text.

^d Καὶ καρπὸν ἐκ ἐδάφους is an addition made by St. Mark to St. Matthew's text.

^e Another addition made by St. Mark.

^f A third addition made by St. Mark. Αὐτοῖς however is rejected by Griesbach.

^g The close agreement between St. Matthew and St. Mark throughout this whole relation, not only in the choice of the words, but likewise in their position (with the exception of the numbers 100, 60, 30, ver. 8. which St. Mark has in an ascending, St. Matthew in a descending series) is the more remarkable, because the words used by St. Luke, if we except a part of the first verse, and ὁ ἐχθρὸς ὧς ἀνθρώπων ἀνέβη at the close of the relation, are very different. St. Matthew's Greek text therefore and that of St. Luke may be two independent translations of the same Hebrew or Chaldee text: but this cannot be the case with that of St. Mark.

In the remaining part of this section, which contains the explanation of the parable, St. Matthew and St. Mark have the same words in only one or two detached places: and what is remarkable, though St. Mark had used *ὁ, αὐτο, &c.* where St. Matthew had *αἱ, αὐτα, &c.* he now uses the plural, and St. Matthew the singular number, as

Matth. xiii.

22. Καὶ ἡ μεριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος τέλει,
καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλοῦτος
συμπνίγει τὸν λόγον καὶ ἀκαρ-
πος γινέται.

Mark iv.

19 Καὶ αἱ μεριμναὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τέλει^h
καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλοῦτος | an
addition in St. Mark. |
συμπνίγῃσι τὸν λόγον καὶ
ἀκαρπὸς γινέται.

S E C T. XX.

Five thousand fed with five loaves and two fishes.

Matth. xiv. 13—21.

19. Καὶ λαβὼν τρεῖς πέντε ἄρτους, καὶ τρεῖς δύο ἰχθύας, ἀναβλεψάς εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐυ-
λογησέ· καὶ κλάσας, κ.τ.λ.

20. Καὶ ἐφαγον πάντες, καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν τὸ περισσεύον τῶν κλασμάτων δώδεκα κοφίνες πληρεῖς.

Mark vi. 30—44.

41. Καὶ λαβὼν τρεῖς πέντε ἄρτους, καὶ τρεῖς δύο ἰχθύας, ἀναβλεψάς εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐυ-
λογησέ· καὶ κἀλέκλασε^a τρεῖς ἄρτους, καὶ ἐδίδε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῖς ἵνα παραθῶσιν αὐτοῖς· καὶ τρεῖς δύο ἰχθύας ἐμερίσε
πᾶσιν.

42, 43. Καὶ ἐφαγον πάν-
τες, καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν.
καὶ ἦσαν
κλασμάτων δώδεκα κοφίνες
πληρεῖς^b.

REMARK.

^b —Τεττ. G.

S E C T. XX.

Five thousand fed with five loaves and two fishes.

Luke ix. 10—17.

REMARKS.

16. Λαβων δε τες πεντε
αββας, και τες δυο ιχθυας,
αναβλεψας εις τον ερανον,
ευλογησεν αυβας· και κατε-
κλασε, και ειδιδε τοις μαθηταις
παραιθεναι τω οχλω.

^a Κατακλαω, used here both
by St. Mark and St. Luke, oc-
curs no where else in the whole
N. T. though the simple verb
κλαω frequently occurs in the
N. T. and is particularly used
with αετος. St. Matthew has
κλαω in this very instance.

17. Και εφαγον και εχορ-
τασθησαν παντες.

^b In this section St. Mark's
text agrees partly with that of
St. Matthew, partly with that of
St. Luke.

SECT. XXI.

The Disciples of Jesus acknowledge that he is the Messiah.

Matth. xvi. 13—28.

13. Τίνα με λεγῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;

14. Ὅτι δὲ εἶπον· οἱ μὲν, Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστὴν· ἄλλοι δὲ Ἡλίαν, ἕτεροί δὲ Ἰερεμίαν, ἢ ἓνα τῶν προφητῶν.

15, 16. Λέγει αὐτοῖς· ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα με λεγέτε εἶναι; ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος εἶπε, σὺ εἶ ὁ Χρῖστος, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος.

21. Δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ· καὶ πολλὰ παθεῖν ἀπο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ἀρχιερέων, καὶ γραμματέων, καὶ ἀποκτείνεσθαι, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι.

22. Καὶ προσλαβόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Πέτρος, ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ·

23. Ὅτι δὲ ἔγραφεις, εἶπε τῷ Πέτρῳ ὑπάγε ὀπίσω με, Σάτανα· σκανδαλὸν με εἶ· ὅτι ἔφρονεις τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Mark viii. 27—ix. 1.

Τίνα με λεγῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι;

28. Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίθησαν· Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστὴν· καὶ ἄλλοι Ἡλίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἓνα τῶν προφητῶν.

29. Καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει αὐτοῖς· ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα με λεγέτε εἶναι; ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος, λέγει αὐτῷ, σὺ εἶ ὁ Χρῖστος.

31. Δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν, καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ἀρχιερέων, καὶ γραμματέων, καὶ ἀποκτείνεσθαι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστῆναι.

32. Καὶ προσλαβόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Πέτρος ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ.

33. Ὅτι δὲ ἐπιστρεφείς, καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ, ἐπετίμησε τῷ Πέτρῳ, λέγων· ὑπάγε ὀπίσω με, Σάτανα· ὅτι ἔφρονεις τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

S E C T. XXI.

The Disciples of Jesus acknowledge that he is the
Messiah.

Luke ix. 18—27.

REMARKS.

22. Δει τον υιον τε αν-
θρωπου πολλα παθειν, και
αποδοκιμασθηναι απο των
πρεσβυτερων, και αρχιερων,
και γραμματεων, και απο-
κτανθηναι, και τη τριτη ημερα
εγερθηναι.

To these two verses
there is nothing which
corresponds in St. Luke's
text.

* In the last clause of this
verse, St. Matthew and St. Luke
exactly agree, but St. Mark
differs.

Matth. xvi. 13—28.

24. Εἰ τις θελεῖ ὀπισω με
ελθεῖν, ἀπαρνησασθω ἑαυτον,
καὶ ἀράτω τον σταυρον αὐτου,
καὶ ἀκολουθεῖτω μοι.

25. Ὃς γὰρ ἀν θελῇ την
ψυχην αὐτου σῶσαι, ἀπολεσεῖ
αὐτην· ὃς δ' ἀν ἀπολεσῇ την
ψυχην αὐτου ἐνεκεν ἐμευ,
εὕρησει αὐτην.

26. Τι γὰρ ὠφελεῖται
ἄνθρωπος, εἰαν τον κοσμον ὅλον
κερδῇ, την δὲ ψυχην αὐτου
ζημιωθῇ¹; ἢ τι δώσει ἄνθρωπος
ἀνταλλαγμα της ψυχης αὐτου:

Here St. Matthew has
similar matter, but in very
different words.

Mark viii. 27—ix. 1.

34. Ὅστις θελεῖ ὀπισω με
ελθεῖν², ἀπαρνησασθω ἑαυτον,
καὶ ἀράτω τον σταυρον αὐτου,
καὶ ἀκολουθεῖτω μοι.

35. Ὃς γὰρ ἀν θελῇ την
ψυχην αὐτου σῶσαι, ἀπολεσεῖ
αὐτην· ὃς δ' ἀν ἀπολεσῇ την
ψυχην αὐτου³ ἐνεκεν ἐμευ, καὶ
τα ευαγγελια, ἅτος⁴ σῶσει
αὐτην.

36. Τι γὰρ ὠφελησει ἄν-
θρωπον⁵ εἰαν κερδῇ τον κοσ-
μον ὅλον καὶ ζημιωθῇ¹ την
ψυχην αὐτου.

37. Ἡ τι δώσει ἄνθρωπος
ἀνταλλαγμα της ψυχης αὐτου;

38. Ὃς γὰρ ἀν ἐπαισ-
χυνηθῇ με, καὶ τις ἐμευ λογῇς
ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ μαιχα-
λιδι καὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ, καὶ ὁ υἱος
της ἀνθρωπου ἐπαισχυνηθεῖται
αὐτον, ὅταν ἐλθῇ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τῇ
πατρὸς αὐτου. μέγα των ἀγ-
γελων των ἁγιων.

Luke ix. 18—27.

REMARKS.

23. Εἰ τις θελεῖ ὀπισω^με^ν ελθεῖν^ς, ἀπαρνησασθῶ^δ ἑαυ-
τον, καὶ ἀρατῶ τον σῶρον
αὐτὴ καθ' ἡμέραν^ς καὶ ἀκολου-
θεῖω μοι.

24. Ὃς γὰρ ἀν θελή^η την
ψυχὴν αὐτὴ σωσαι, ἀπολεσει
αὐτήν· ἵς δ' ἀν ἀπολεσῇ την
ψυχὴν αὐτὴ ἐνεκεν ἐμῆ, ἔτος
σωσεῖ αὐτήν.

25. Τί γὰρ ωφελεῖται ἀν-
θρώπος, κ.τ.λ.

26. Ὃς γὰρ ἀν ἐπαισ-
χυθῇ με, καὶ τες ἐμεῖς λογεῖς,

τεβίον ὁ υἱος
τε ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυθησείαι,
ὅταν ἐλθῇ ἐν τη δόξῃ αὐτῆς, καὶ
τε παῖρος, καὶ των ἁγίων
ἀγγέλων.

^b Ἀκολουθεῖν. G.

^c Ἐρχεσθαι. G. But what-
ever is the verb, which St.
Mark and St. Luke used, they
agree with St. Matthew in the
Hebrew construction ὀπισω^με^ν,
which is the more remarkable,
as at other times all three Evan-
gelists have much more fre-
quently used the common Greek
construction ἀκολουθεῖν^{τιν}, with
a dative, and without ὀπισω.

^d Ἀρνησασθῶ. G.

^e — Καθ' ἡμέραν. In the
three first of these alterations
we perceive the attempts of tran-
scribers to augment the verbal
harmony of the Evangelists by
altering the one from the other.
On the other hand, the insertion
of καθ' ἡμέραν, which is un-
doubtedly spurious, produces the
contrary effect, as it is contained
neither in St. Matthew's nor in
St. Mark's text.

^f Τὴν ἑαυτῆ ψυχὴν. G.

^g — ἔτος. G.

^h Ἀνθρώπος. E. F. G. H. L.
M. al. 18.

ⁱ It is remarkable, that St.
Matthew and St. Mark here
agree in using ζημιωθῇ^{την} ψυχὴν,
instead of ἀπολεσῇ^{την} ψυχὴν,
though on other occasions they
have so frequently used ἀπολ-
λυμι, but never ζημιω. And
what renders it still more re-
markable is, that in the verse
immediately preceding, St. Mat-
thew has used ἀπολεσῇ^{την} ψυχὴν,
and *there* St. Mark also has ἀπο-
λεσῇ^{την} ψυχὴν. This agreement
in the variation of expression
could not be the effect of mere
accident. St. Luke also has used
ζημιω, ver. 25. but he has used
at the same time ἀπολλυμι, and
written ἀπολίσας ἢ ζημιώθεις.

Matth. xvi. 13—28.

28. Ἀμην λεγω ὑμῖν, εἰσι
τινες τῶν ὧδε ἐσηκοτῶν^k οἵτινες
καὶ μὴ γευσῶνται θανάτου, ἕως
ἀν ἰδῶσι, κ.τ.λ.

Mark viii. 27—ix. 1.

IX. 1. Ἀμην, λεγω ὑμῖν,
ὅτι εἰσι τινες τῶν ὧδε ἐσηκοῦντων,
οἵτινες καὶ μὴ γευσῶνται θά-
νατον, ἕως ἀν ἰδῶσι τὴν βασι-
λειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐληλυθυῖαν ἐν
δυνάμει^m.

Luke ix. 18—27.

REMARKS.

27. Λεγω δε ὑμῖν ἀληθῶς,
εἰσι τινες τῶν ὡδε ἐσηκῶτων^κ
οἱ οὐ μὴ γευσούλαι^ι θανάτου,
ἕως ἂν ἰδῶσι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ
Θεοῦ.

^κ Ἐσῶτων. G.

^ι Γευσῶνται. G.

^μ Ἐληλυθειαν ἐν δυνάμει was added by St. Mark. In the former part of this verse his text is the same as St. Matthew's: but in ἕως ἂν ἰδῶσι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, he agrees with St. Luke, and differs from St. Matthew, who has ἕως ἂν ἰδῶσι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ. Nor is this the only part of the section, in which St. Mark's text agrees partly with that of St. Matthew, partly with that of St. Luke.

Lastly, the expression γευσούλαι θάνατον, in which all three agree in this place, though none of them has used it on any other occasion, is worthy of notice. However this phrase alone affords no proof, either that they copied here from each other, or that they drew from a common Greek source. For three independent translators of a Chaldee document, in which ܡܘܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ, gustavit mortem, (an expression which occurs in the Chaldee Paraphrase, Psalm xxiv. 1.) was used, could not well render it in any other manner.

SECT. XXII.

Transfiguration of Christ on the mount.

Matth. xvii. 1—10.

1, 2. Και μεθ' ἡμέρας ἐξ
παραλαμβάνει ὁ Ἰησὺς τον
Πέτρον, καὶ Ἰακώβον, καὶ Ἰω-
άννην τον ἀδελφον αὐτῆς,
καὶ ἀναφέρει αὐτῆς εἰς ὄρος
ὑψηλον κατ' ἰδίαν.
καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἐμπροσθεν
αὐτῶν.

4. Αποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος
εἶπε τῷ Ἰησὺ κυριε, καλὸν
ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς ὥδε εἶναι· εἰ θελεῖς
ποιησωμεν ὥδε τρεῖς σκηνάς,
σοὶ μίαν καὶ Μωσῇ μίαν, καὶ
μίαν Ἑλίας.

5. Καὶ ἰδὲ φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς
νεφέλης λεγούσα· υἱὸς ἐστὶν ὁ
υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ ευ-
δόκησα· αὐτὸν ἀκητέ.

Mark ix. 2—9.

2. Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἐξ
παραλαμβάνει ὁ Ἰησὺς τον
Πέτρον, καὶ τον Ἰακώβον, καὶ
τον Ἰωάννην,
καὶ ἀναφέρει αὐτῆς εἰς ὄρος
ὑψηλον κατ' ἰδίαν μονᾶς.
καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἐμπροσθεν
αὐτῶν.

5. Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος
λεγει τῷ Ἰησὺ· ραββί, καλὸν
ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς ὥδε εἶναι·
ποιησωμεν σκηνάς τρεῖς,
σοὶ μίαν, καὶ Μωσῇ μίαν,
καὶ Ἑλίας μίαν.

7. Καὶ ἦλθε φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς
νεφέλης λεγούσα· υἱὸς ἐστὶν ὁ
υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός·
αὐτὸν ἀκητέ.

SECT. XXII.

Transfiguration of Christ on the mount.

Luke ix. 28—36.

REMARKS.

35. Καὶ φωνὴ ἐγενήθη ἐκ τῆς
νεφέλης λεγούσα· ἔστω ἐνὶ ὃ
ἵσος με ὁ ἀγαπητός·
αὐτὸς ἀκράβει.

^a —Λεγούσα. G.

S E C T. XXVI.

Christ blesses children, who are brought to him : and answers the question, by what means salvation is to be obtained.

Matth. xix. 13—30.

To this verse there is nothing, which corresponds in St. Matthew's text.

Mark x. 13—31.

14. Αφείε τα παῖδια ἐρχέσθαι πρὸς με, καὶ μὴ κωλύει αὐτὰ· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

15. Ἀμην, λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅς ἐάν μὴ δεξιῇται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς παῖδιον, οὐ μὴ εἰσελθῇ εἰς αὐτήν.

16. An addition not contained in St. Luke's Gospel.

17. Διδασκαλε ἀγαθε, τί ποιήσω ἵνα ζῶν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;

18. Οὗτος δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ Θεός.

19. Τὰς ἐντολάς οἶδας·

μη μοιχεύσης·

μη φονεύσης·

μη κλέψῃς·

μη ψευδομαρτυρήσης·

μη ἀποσερήσης·

τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου, καὶ τὴν μητέρα².

SECT. XXVI.

Christ blesses children, who are brought to him : and answers the question, by what means salvation is to be obtained.

Luke xviii. 15—30.

REMARKS.

16. Αφείε τα παῖδια ἐρχέσθαι πρὸς με, καὶ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτὰ· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

^a In the LXX. these commandments are worded and arranged in the following manner :

Exod. xx. 12—17.

17. Ἀμην, λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς παῖδιον, καὶ μὴ ἐσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτὴν.

Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου, καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου.

Οὐ μοιχεύσεις.

Οὐ κλέψεις.

Οὐ φονεύσεις.

Οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις.

18. Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;

In the Hebrew the commandment against theft is placed before that against adultery : in other respects the arrangement is the same as in the LXX. St. Mark and St. Luke therefore differ both from the Hebrew and the LXX. in their mode of arranging these commandments, and at the same time they agree with each other. It is true, that St. Mark has added *μη ἀποσπερήσης*, which St. Luke has not. St. Matthew's arrangement is somewhat different : for though he agrees with St. Mark and St. Luke in giving the command to honour one's parents the last place among these five commandments, he differs from them,

19. Εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; ὁδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἰς, ὁ Θεός.

20. Τὰς ἐντολάς οἶδας·

μη μοιχεύσης·

μη φονεύσης·

μη κλέψης·

μη ψευδομαρτυρήσης·

τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου, καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου^a.

and agrees with the Hebrew, in placing the commandment against theft before that against adultery. In the Epistle to the Romans, ch. xiii. 9. the same arrangement is observed as in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke : but then it is remarkable that these two Evangelists agree in using *μη* and the subjunctive, *μη μοιχεύσης, μη φονεύσης*, &c. whereas in the LXX. in St. Matthew's Gospel, and the Epistle to the Romans, & with the indicative is used.

Matth. xix. 13—30.

Mark x. 13—21.

20. Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς, εἶπεν αὐτῷ, διδάσκαλε, ταῦτα πάντα ἐφυλάξαμην ἐκ νεότητος μου.

21. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλεψας αὐτῷ ἠγαπήσεν αὐτόν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ἐν σοὶ ὕσerei ὕπαγε, ὅσα ἔχεις πώλησον, καὶ δός τοις πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις ζω-
σαυρον ἐν κρανίῳ· καὶ δευρὸς ἀκολουθεῖ μοι, ἀράς του σαυ-
ρον^b.

22. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ νεανίσκος του λόγου, ἀπῆλθε λυπημένος· ἦν γὰρ ἐχὼν κτήματα πολλά.

22. Ὁ δὲ συγκατάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀπῆλθε λυπημένος· ἦν γὰρ ἐχὼν κτήματα πολλά.

23. Καὶ περιβλεψάμενος ὁ Ἰησοῦς, λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῖς·

ὥς δυσκόλως^c οἱ ταχρημαῖα ἐχούτες εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσελεύσονται;

Luke xviii. 15—30.

REMARKS.

21. Ὁ δὲ εἶπε

ταῦτα πάντα ἐφυλαξάμην ἐκ νεότητος μὲ

22. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ἐτι ἐν σοὶ λείπει· πάντα ὅσα ἔχεις πώλησον, καὶ διάδος πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρον ἐν ὕψην· καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολουθεῖ μοι.

24. Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτον ὁ Ἰησοῦς περιλυπον γενόμενον, εἶπε·

πῶς δυσκόλως οἱ τὰ χρηματὰ ἔχοντες εἰσελευσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

^b Ἀκούσας τοῦ θησαυρον, which is here added in St. Mark's text, is not found in the three perhaps most ancient MSS. now existing, viz. B. C. D.

^c The adverb *δυσκόλως* used here both by St. Mark and St. Luke (and also by St. Matthew, ver. 23.) occurs no where else, either in the N. T. or in the LXX. or in the Greek Apocrypha. Nor is the adjective *δυσκόλος* ever used in the N. T. except in the verse, which immediately follows in St. Mark's Gospel, where he has *πῶς δυσκόλον*, an expression, which was undoubtedly occasioned by the use of *πῶς δυσκόλως* in the present instance. Is it probable then that two (in fact three, for the same word is here used also in St. Matthew's Gospel), independent translators should agree in the same place, in rendering the same Hebrew or Chaldee word by the

very same Greek word, when neither they themselves, nor any other of the writers of the N. T. have ever used that Greek word on any other occasion? Nor does either *δυσκόλος* or *δυσκόλως* occur any where in the versions of Aquila, Symmachus or Theodotion. It is true that the adjective *δυσκόλος* is once, but once only, used in the LXX. viz. Jer. xlix. 8. (xxix. 2. according to the Greek arrangement); but it is there used in a very different sense, the neut. pl. *δυσκόλα* being the translation of *תִּשָׁ* 'calamitas,' whereas our Evangelists have used it as equivalent to *χαλεπῶς*. Further, though the classic writers sometimes use *δυσκόλος*, (though it properly signifies *difficilis* in *sumendo cibo*, from *δύς* and *κόλον* *cibus*) as synonymous to *χαλεπός*, as in the proverb *δυσκόλα τὰ καλά*, yet the adverb *difficulus* is usually expressed, not by *δυσκόλως*, (which in the classic authors signifies 'morose') but either by *χαλεπῶς* or *δυσχερῶς*.

Matth. xix. 13—30.

Mark x. 13—31.

25. Ἀκροαῖτες δὲ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξεπληθυσσὺν σφοδρὰ λεγούνης· τίς ἄρα δύναται σωθῆναι;

26. Εὐμελειψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶρα ἀνθρώποις τὸ αὐτὸ δύνασθαι ἐστὶ·

πᾶρα δὲ Θεοῦ πάντα δύνασθαι ἐστὶ.^ε

27. Τότε αποκρίθεις ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἰδὲ ἡμεῖς ἀφηκαμένον πάντα, καὶ ἠκολούθησάμεν σοι.

29. Πᾶς ὅς^h ἀφηκεν οικίας, ἢ ἀδελφεύς, ἢ ἀδελφάς, ἢ πατέρα, ἢ μητέρα, ἢ γυναῖκα, ἢ τέκνα, ἢ ἀγροὺς ἐνεκεν τῆς ὀνομασίας μου,

ἐκακολουτᾷ πλάσιον ἀληψείαι, κ. τ. λ.

30. Πολλοὶ δὲ ἐσονται πρῶτοι, ἐσχατοὶ· καὶ ἐσχατοὶ, πρῶτοι.

25. Ευκοπώτερον ἐστὶ καμῆλον δια τῆς τρυμαλίας τῆς ραφίδος διελθεῖν^d, ἢ πλυσθῆναι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν.

26. Οἱ δὲ πηρισσὼς ἐξεπληθυσσὺν λεγούνης πρὸς αὐτοὺς· καὶ τίς δύναται σωθῆναι;

27. Εὐμελειψας δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, λέγει· πᾶρα ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸ δύνασθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶρα τῷ Θεῷ· πάντα γὰρ δύνασθαι ἐστὶ πᾶρα τῷ Θεῷ.

28. Καὶ ἠρξάτο ὁ Πέτρος λέγειν αὐτῷ· ἰδὲ ἡμεῖς ἀφηκαμένον πάντα, καὶ ἠκολούθησάμεν σοι.

29. Ἀμην, λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅσοις ἐστὶν ὅς ἀφηκεν οἰκίαν, ἢ ἀδελφεύς, ἢ ἀδελφάς, ἢ πατέρα, ἢ μητέρα, ἢ γυναῖκα, ἢ τέκνα, ἢ ἀγροὺς, ἐνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ¹ τῆς εὐαγγελίας,

30. Ἐὰν μὴ λαβῇ ἑκάστον ταπλάσιον, οὐκ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν,

k

καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰωνί τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ζῶντων αἰώνιον.

31. Πολλοὶ δὲ ἐσονται πρῶτοι, ἐσχατοὶ· καὶ οἱ¹ ἐσχατοὶ πρῶτοι.^m

Luke xviii. 15—30.

REMARKS.

25. Ευκοπώτερον γὰρ ἐστὶ
καμηλον διὰ τρυμαλίας φα-
φίδος^c εἰσελθεῖν, ἢ πλυσσιν εἰς
τὴν βασιλείαν τῶ Θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν.

^d Griesbach prefers εἰσελθεῖν,
but has not taken it into his text.

26.

^e Griesbach prefers βελονης,
but has not taken it into his text.

καὶ τίς δύναται σωθῆναι;

^f —ΑΥΤΩ. G.

^g —ΕΣΤΙ. G.

29. Ἀμπν, λεγὼ ὑμῖν ὅτι
ἐδείς ἐσιν, ὅς ἀφῆκεν οἰκίαν,
κ. τ. λ.

^h + τίς. G.

ⁱ + ἔνεκεν. G.

30. Ὃς οὐ μὴ ἀπολαβὴ
πολλαπλασιονα, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ
τῷ,

^k Here is an insertion in St.
Mark's text not contained either
in St. Matthew's or in St.
Luke's.

καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰωνί τῷ ἐρχομένῳ
ζῶνι αἰωνίον.

^l —οἱ. G.

^m If we except those passages
of this section, which St. Mark
himself has added, he agrees
almost throughout, partly with
St. Matthew, and partly with St.
Luke, but chiefly with the latter.

S E C T. XXVII.

Christ foretels his death.

Matth. xx. 17—19.

18, 19. Ἰδὲ ἀναβαίνομεν
εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται τοῖς
ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ γραμματέεσι·
καὶ κατακρινέσιν αὐτὸν θά-
νατον· καὶ παραδώσιν αὐτὸν
τοῖς ἐθνεσιν.

Mark x. 32—34.

33. Ἰδὲ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς
Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται τοῖς
ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς γραμμα-
τέεσι· καὶ κατακρινέσιν αὐτὸν
θάνατον· καὶ παραδώσιν
αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐθνεσιν.

S E C T. XXVII.

Christ foretels his death.

Luke xviii. 32—34.

REMARKS.

SECT. XXX.

Expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the temple.

Matth. xxi. 12, 13.

12. Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τε Θεῶν, καὶ ἐξε-
βαλε πάντας τὰς πωληνίας,
καὶ ἀγοραζούσας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ
τὰς τραπέζας τῶν κολλυβιστῶν
κατέσρεψε, καὶ τὰς καθέδρας
τῶν πωλητῶν τὰς περιστεράς.

13. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς·
γεγραπται, ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος
προσευχῆς κληθήσεται·

ὕμεις δὲ αὐτὸν ἐποίησατε σπη-
λαῖον ληστῶν.

Mark xi. 15—17.

15. Καὶ εἰσελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς^a
εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· ᾤξασθαι ἐκβάλλειν
τὰς πωληνίας καὶ ἀγοραζούσας
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ τὰς τραπέζας
τῶν κολλυβιστῶν,
καὶ τὰς καθέδρας
τῶν πωλητῶν τὰς περιστεράς
κατέσρεψε^b.

16. A passage added by
St. Mark, and contained
neither in St. Matthew's
nor St. Luke's Gospel.

17. Καὶ ἐδίδασκε λέγων
αὐτοῖς· ἔγεγραπται, ὅτι ὁ
οἶκος μου οἶκος
προσευχῆς
κληθήσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ἐθνεσιν^c;
ὕμεις δὲ ἐποίησατε αὐτὸν σπη-
λαῖον ληστῶν.

S E C T. XXX.

Expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the temple.

Luke xix. 45, 46.

REMARKS.

45. Καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ
 ἱερόν, ᾤκνησεν ἐκβαλεῖν τοὺς
 πωλεῖντας ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀγο-
 ραζοντας.

^a — Ἰησους. G.

^b In the former part of this
 verse St. Mark's text is that of
 St. Luke: in the latter part it is
 that of St. Matthew.

46. Λεγὼν αὐτοῖς,
 γεγραπται, ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος
 προσευχῆς ἐστίν·

ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατε σπη-
 λαίον λησῶν.

^c In this quotation from Isai.
 lvi. 7. St. Matthew and St.
 Mark have the words of the
 LXX. with this difference only,
 that in St. Matthew's text τοῖς
 ἐθνεσιν is omitted. In St. Luke's
 text κληθήσεται is exchanged for
 ἐστίν.

SECT. XXXI.

Christ called to account by the chief priests and elders, for teaching publickly in the temple. He answers them, and then delivers a parable.

Matth. xxi. 23—27.
33—46.

23. Εν ποια ἐξῆστια ταῦτα ποιεῖς; καὶ τίς σοι ἔδωκε τὴν ἐξῆστιαν ταύτην;

24. Αποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἐρωτήσω ὑμᾶς κηγῶ λόγον ἓνα, ὃν εἰάν τις μοι, κηγῶ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ ἐν ποια ἐξῆστια ταῦτα ποίω.

25. Το βαπτισμα Ἰωάννου ποθεν ἦν; ἐξ ὕδατος, ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων;

Οἱ δὲ διελογίζοντο παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, λεγούτες, εἰάν τις εἰπῶμεν, ἐξ ὕδατος, ἔρει ἡμῖν· διὰ τί οὖν οὐκ ἐπιστευσάτε αὐτῷ;

26. Εἰάν τις εἰπῶμεν, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, φοβημεθα τὸν ὄχλον· πάντες γὰρ ἐχρῶσι τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς προφήτην.

27. Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς τῷ Ἰησοῦ, εἶπον, οὐκ οἶδαμεν· Ἐφ' ἃ αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς· ὅδε ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν ποια ἐξῆστια ταῦτα ποίω.

Mark xi. 27—xii. 12.

28. Εν ποια ἐξῆστια ταῦτα ποιεῖς; καὶ τίς σοι τὴν ἐξῆστιαν ταύτην ἔδωκεν, ἵνα ταῦτα ποῖς;

29. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκριθεὶς, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἐπερωτήσω ὑμᾶς κηγῶ ἓνα λόγον, καὶ ἀποκριθῆτε μοι, καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν ἐν ποια ἐξῆστια ταῦτα ποίω.

30. Το βαπτισμα Ἰωάννου ἐξ ὕδατος ἦν, ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων; ἀποκριθῆτε μοι.

31. Καὶ ἐλογίζοντο^a πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, λεγούτες· εἰάν τις εἰπῶμεν, ἐξ ὕδατος, ἔρει· διὰ τί οὖν οὐκ ἐπιστευσάτε αὐτῷ;

32. Ἀλλ' εἰάν τις εἰπῶμεν, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, φοβηθήμεθα τὸν λαόν· πάντες γὰρ εἶχον τὸν Ἰωάννην, ὅτι οὕτως προφήτης ἦν.

33. Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ, οὐκ οἶδαμεν· καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει αὐτοῖς· ὅδε ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν ποια ἐξῆστια ταῦτα ποίω.

SECT. XXXI.

Christ called to account by the chief priests and elders, for teaching publickly in the temple. He answers them, and then delivers a parable.

Luke xx. 1—19.

REMARKS.

2. Ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτα
ποιεῖς;

4. Το βαπτισμα Ιωαννης
ἐξ ὕδατος ἢ, ἢ ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων;

5.

ἐὰν εἰπωμεν
ἐξ ὕδατος, εἰρήνη· διατί ἂν ἔκ
ἐπισυνεσταίῃ αὐτῷ;

6. Ἐὰν δὲ εἰπωμεν ἐξ ἀν-
θρώπων.

^a Διελογίζοντο, B. C. D. K. L.
M. al. 43.

8. εἰδὲ ἐγώ
λέγω ὑμῖν ἂν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ
ταύτα ποίω.

Matth. xxi. 23—27.
33—46.

42. Ουδεπότε ανεγνώτε εν
ταις γραφαις; Λιθον ὃν απε-
δοκιμασαν οἱ οικοδομεντες,
ἔτος εγεννηθη εις κεφαλην γω-
νίας^b.

44. Και ὁ πεσων επι τον
λιθον τῆτον συνθλασθησεται·
ἐφ ὃν δ'αν πεση, λικμησει
αὐτον.

Mark xi. 27.—xii. 12.

xii. 9. Τί ἐν ποιησει ὁ
κυριος τῷ ἀμπελωνος; ἐλευσέται
καὶ ἀπολεσει τὰς γεωργας,
καὶ δώσει τον ἀμπελωνα
αλλοις.

10. Ουδε την γραφην ταυ-
την ανεγνώτε; Λιθον ὃν απε-
δοκιμασαν οἱ οικοδομεντες,
ἔτος εγεννηθη εις κεφαλην γω-
νίας.

To this verse there is
nothing, which corresponds
in St. Mark's Gospel.

Luke xx. 1—19.

REMARKS.

15, 16. Τί ἔν ποιήσει
αὐτοῖς ὁ κύριος τὰ ἀμπελώνας ;
ἐλευσέαι καὶ ἀπολεσεῖ τὰς
γεωργίας τῶν, καὶ δώσει τὸν
ἀμπελῶνα ἄλλοις.

17. Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν
οἱ οἰκοδομοὶ, ἕτος ἐγεννήθη
εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

18. Πᾶς ὁ πρῶτος ἐπ'
ἐκεῖνον τὸν λίθον συνθλασθή-
σεται· ἐφ' ὃν δ' ἂν πρῶτος λιξ-
μησεῖ αὐτόν.

^b This quotation from Psalm cxviii. 22. literally agrees with the LXX. and therefore the agreement of the Evangelists with each other in this verse proves nothing in regard to our present inquiry.

^c Here St. Matthew and St. Luke agree in the use of the two verbs συνθλαῶ and λιμᾶω, which they have never used on any other occasion and which occur in no other passage throughout the whole New Testament.

SECT. XXXIII.

Christ's discourse with the Pharisees, relative to the Messiah's being called Lord by David.

Matth. xxii. 41—46.

44. Εἶπεν ὁ κυριος τῷ κυριῷ μου· καθὲς ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως αὐτοῦ θωπεύεις ἐχθρὸς σε ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου^b.

Mark xii. 35—37.

36. Εἶπεν ^a ὁ κυριος τῷ κυριῷ μου· καθὲς ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως αὐτοῦ θωπεύεις ἐχθρὸς σε ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

SECT. XXXIV.

The Pharisees censured by Christ.

Matth. xxiii. 1. &c.

In St. Matthew's Gospel the matter is very much dilated in this section, and therefore he agrees with St. Mark and St. Luke in only a part of ver. 6. and a part of ver. 7.

Mark xii. 38—40

38, 39. Βλέπετε ἀπο τῶν γραμματέων, τῶν θελουμένων ἐν σοφαῖς περιπατεῖν, καὶ ἀσπασμὸς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς, καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς, καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δεῖπνοις.

40. Οἱ καλεσθιοῦντες τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πτωχῶν, καὶ πρᾶφασιν μακρὰ προσευχομένοι· ἔτοιμοι ληψόναι περισσώτερον κρίμα.

SECT. XXXIII.

Christ's discourse with the Pharisees, relative to the
Messiah's being called Lord by David.

Luke xx. 41—44.

REMARKS.

42, 43. Εἶπεν ὁ κυριος τῷ
κυρίῳ μου καθὼς ἐκ δεξιῶν μου,
ἐγὼ; ἀνθρῶπος τῆς ἐχθρῆς σου ὑπο-
ποδιὸν τῶν ποδῶν σου.

^a Διγγί. G.

^b This quotation from Psalm
cx. i. likewise agrees literally
with the LXX.

SECT. XXXIV.

The Pharisees censured by Christ.

Luke xx. 45—47.

REMARKS.

46. Προσεχέτε ἀπὸ τῶν
γραμματέων, τῶν θελοῦντων
περιπατεῖν ἐν σοφαίς, καὶ
φιλικῶν ἀσπασμῶς ἐν ταῖς
ἀγοραῖς, καὶ πρῶτοκαθεδρίας
ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς, καὶ πρῶ-
τοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις.

47. Οἱ καλῶσθε τὰς
οἰκίας τῶν πλεονέκτων, καὶ προ-
φασίζετε μακρὰ πρῶτευχονίαι·
ἐτοὶς ληψόνται περισσώτερον
κρίμα.

S E C T. XXXV.

Christ foretels the destruction of Jerusalem.

Matth. xxiv. 1—36.

4. Βλεπέτε μη τις ὑμᾶς
πλανήσῃ.

5. Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐλευσούσιναι
ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου, λεγούτες,
ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός· καὶ πολλὰς
πλανήσουσι.

6. Μελλήσετε δὲ ἀκρεῖν
πολέμους, καὶ ἀκοᾶς πολέμων·
ὁρᾶτε μὴ θροεῖσθε· δεῖ γὰρ
πάντα γενέσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἐσὶ
τὸ τέλος.

7. Ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος
ἐπὶ ἔθνος, καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ
βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐσοῦναι λιμοὶ,
καὶ λοιμοὶ ^a, καὶ σεισμοὶ κατὰ
τοπίας.

9. Καὶ ἐσεσθε μισθόμενοι
ὑπὸ πονηρῶν ^b ἐθνῶν διὰ τὸ
ὄνομα μου.

13. Ὁ δὲ ὑπομεινῶν εἰς
τέλος, ἕτος σωθήσεται.

15, 16. Ὅταν γὰρ ἰδῇ τὸ
βδελυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, τὸ
ρηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τὰ προφῆτα,
ἕως ἐν τοπῇ ἁγίᾳ· ὁ ἀνα-
γινώσκων νοεῖτω· τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ
Ἰερουσαλὴμ φευγέτωσαν ἐπὶ τὰ
ορη.

Mark xiii. 1—36.

5. Βλεπέτε μη τις ὑμᾶς
πλανήσῃ.

6. Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐλευσούσιναι
ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου, λεγούτες,
ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι· καὶ πολλὰς
πλανήσουσιν.

7. Ὅταν δὲ ἀκρεῖν πολέ-
μους, καὶ ἀκοᾶς πολέμων,
μὴ θροεῖσθε· δεῖ γὰρ
γενέσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος.

8. Ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος
ἐπὶ ἔθνος, καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ
βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐσοῦναι

σεισμοὶ κατὰ
τοπίας, καὶ ἐσοῦναι λιμοὶ καὶ
ταραχαί.

13. Καὶ ἐσεσθε μισθόμενοι
ὑπὸ πονηρῶν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα μου·

ὁ δὲ ὑπομεινῶν εἰς τέλος, ἕτος
σωθήσεται.

14. Ὅταν δὲ ἰδῇ τὸ
βδελυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, τὸ
ρηθὲν ὑπὸ Δανιὴλ τὰ προφῆτα,
ἕως ὅπου εἰ δὲ· ὁ ἀναγινώσκων
νοεῖτω· τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰερουσαλὴμ
φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη.

SECT. XXXV.

Christ foretels the destruction of Jerusalem.

Luke xxi. 5—36.

REMARKS.

9. Ὅταν δὲ ἀκυσήτε πολέμους, κ. τ. λ.

10. Ἐγερθήσεται ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος, καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν.

11. Σεισμοὶ τε μεγάλοι καὶ τοπαὶ, καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ ἐσούσιν.

17. Καὶ ἐσεσθε μισημένοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα μου.

^a The paronomasia λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ is also in St. Luke's text.

^b + των. G.

^c — το ρηθὲν ὑπὸ Δανιηλ το προφητῆ. G.

21. τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰερουσαλὴμ φευγετωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη.

Matth. xxiv. 1—36.

17. Ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς δωμαῖος μὴ
καταβαίνειω,
ἄραι τι ἐκ τῆς
οικίας αὐτῆς.

18. Καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ,
μὴ ἐπισρεψάτω ὀπίσω, ἄραι
τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ.

19. Οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ
ἐχούσαις, καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις
ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις.

20. Προσευχέσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ
γενῇται ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν χεῖμω-
νος, μηδὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ.

21. Ἐσθὶ γὰρ τότε
θλίψις μεγάλη, οἷα καὶ γεγενεῖν
ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου,
ἕως τοῦ νυν, καὶ
καὶ μὴ γενῇται.

22. Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολοβώ-
θησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι, καὶ
ἀν εὐωθῇ πᾶσα σὰρξ· διὰ δὲ
τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς κολοβωθησούσαι
αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι.

23. Τότε εἰαν τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ·
ἰδοὺ ὡδε ὁ Χριστός, ἢ ὡδε, μὴ
πίστευσήτε.

24. Ἐγερθησούμαι γὰρ ψευ-
δοχριστοί, καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται,
καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα μεγάλα
καὶ τεράτια, ὥστε πλανησθαι,
εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς.

25. Ἰδοὺ, προεῖρηκα ὑμῖν.

Mark xiii. 1—36.

15. Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς δωμαῖος
μὴ καταβαίτω εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν,
μηδὲ εἰσελθεῖω, ἄραι τι ἐκ τῆς
οικίας αὐτῆς.

16. Καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν ἄν
μὴ ἐπισρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω,
ἄραι τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ.

17. Οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ
ἐχούσαις, καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις
ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις.

18. Προσευχέσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ
γενῇται ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν χεῖμω-
νος.

19. Ἐσθὶ γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι
ἐκεῖναι θλίψις, οἷα καὶ γεγενεῖ
τοιαύτη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἥς
ἐκτίσεν ὁ Θεός, ἕως τοῦ νυν, καὶ
καὶ μὴ γενῇται.

20. Καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος ἐκο-
λοβώσῃ τὰς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἂν
εὐωθῇ πᾶσα σὰρξ· ἀλλὰ διὰ
τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς, ὅς ἐξελεξάτο,
ἐκολοβώσῃ τῆς ἡμέρας.

21. Καὶ τότε εἰαν τις ὑμῖν
εἴπῃ· ἰδοὺ ὡδε ὁ Χριστός, ἢ ἰδοὺ
ἐκεῖ, μὴ πίστευσήτε.

22. Ἐγερθησούμαι γὰρ ψευ-
δοχριστοί, καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται,
καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα,
καὶ τεράτια, πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλαν-
ῆναι, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τῆς ἐκλεκ-
τῆς.

23. Ὑμεῖς δὲ βλέπετε·
ἰδοὺ, προεῖρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα.

Luke xxi. 5—36.

REMARKS.

23. Ουαι δε ταις εν γαστρι
εχουσαις, και ταις θηλαζουσαις
εν εκειναις ταις ημεραις.

^d το ιματιον is preferred by
Griellbach.

To this passage there is
nothing, which corresponds
in St. Luke's text.

^e Neither St. Matthew nor St. Mark have used κολοβωω in any other instance than the present: nor does it occur in any other place throughout the whole New Testament. It is used once, and once only, in the LXX. viz. 2 Sam. iv. 12. where it is the translation of γαρ. Now γαρ occurs in sixteen places in the Old Testament, and in these sixteen places is rendered in the LXX. by nine different Greek words, and only in the instance just mentioned by κολοβωω. Is it probable then, if the texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark contained two independent Greek translations, that the same Hebrew word would have been rendered in both by κολοβωω.

^f πιστευετε. G.

* To ver. 26—28. there is nothing, which corresponds in St. Mark's text.

Matth. xxiv. 1—36.

29. Ευθὺς δὲ μετὰ τὴν Θλιψὶν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων, ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθῆσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἔδωσει τὸ φεγγος αὐτῆς· καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσῦναι ἀπὸ τῶν ὕψους, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν ὕψους σαλευθήσονται.

†

30. Καὶ ὀφνύονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχομένον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς.

31. Καὶ ἀποστέλει τῆς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ, μετὰ σαλπύγγος φωνῆς μεγάλης, καὶ ἐπισυναξέσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσαρῶν ἀνεμῶν, ἀπ' ἀκρῶν ὕψους, ἕως ἀκρῶν ὑψώνων.

32. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς συκῆς μαθήσει τὴν παραβολὴν· ὅταν ἡδη ὁ κλάδος αὐτῆς γενήται ἄπαλος, καὶ τὰ φύλλα ἐκφυῇ γινώσκῃ ὅτι ἐγγὺς τὸ θερος.

33. Οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὅταν ἰδῇτε πάντα ταῦτα, γινώσκῃτε ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θυραῖς.

34. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἔτι μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, ἕως ἂν πάντα ταῦτα γενήσιν.

Mark xiii. 1—36.

24, 25. Ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν Θλιψὶν ἐκείνην ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθῆσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἔδωσει τὸ φεγγος αὐτῆς· καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τῶν ὕψους ἐσθῆναι ἐκπιπτοῦντες, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν τοῖς ὕψουσιν σαλευθήσονται.

26. Καὶ τότε ὀφνύσιν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχομένον ἐν νεφέλαις, μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, καὶ δόξης.

27. Καὶ τότε ἀποστέλει τῆς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ,

καὶ ἐπισυναξέσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσαρῶν ἀνεμῶν, ἀπ' ἀκρῶν γῆς ἕως ἀκρῶν ὕψους.

28. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς συκῆς μαθήσει τὴν παραβολὴν· ὅταν αὐτῆς ἡδη ὁ κλάδος ἄπαλος γενήσιν, καὶ ἐκφυῇ τὰ φύλλα, γινώσκῃτε ὅτι ἐγγὺς τὸ θερος ἐστίν.

29. Οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὅταν ταῦτα ἰδῇτε γινόμενα, γινώσκῃτε ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θυραῖς.

30. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἔτι μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, μετὰ πάντων ταῦτα γενήσιν.

Luke xxi. 5—36.

REMARKS.

26.

αἱ γὰρ δυνα-
μεις των θρανων σαλευθησονται.

27. Καὶ τότε οψονται τον
υἱον τε ανθρωπου, ερχομενον εν
νεφελη,
μεγα δυναμεως, και δοξης
πολλης.

† To the former part of ver.
30. there is likewise nothing,
which corresponds in St. Mark's
text.

31. Οὕτω και υμεις, οταν
ιδητε ταυτα γινομενα, γνωσ-
κετε οτι εγγυς εστιν ἡ βασιλεια
τε Θεου.

32. Αμην λεγω υμιν, οτι
ε μη παρελθῃ ἡ γενεα αὕτη,
ἵως αν παντα γενηται.

Matth. xxiv. 1—36.

35. Ὁ κρανος καὶ ἡ γῆ
παρελευσονται^ε, οἱ δὲ λόγοι
μὲν καὶ μὴ παρελθῶσι.

36. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας
ἐκείνης, καὶ τῆς¹ ὥρας οὐδεὶς
οἶδεν, οἱ ἀγγελοὶ τῶν
κρανῶν.
εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ μὲν¹ μόνος.

Mark xiii. 1—36.

31. Ὁ κρανος καὶ ἡ γῆ
παρελευσονται^h, οἱ δὲ λόγοι
μὲν καὶ μὴ παρελθῶσι.

32. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας
ἐκείνης, καὶ^k τῆς ὥρας οὐδεὶς
οἶδεν, οἱ ἀγγελοὶ οἱ ἐν
κρανῶ, οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός,
εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.

Luke xxi. 5—36.

REMARKS.

33. Ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ ἡ γῆ
παρελευσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι
μὲν οὐ μὴ παρελθῶσι.

ε παρελευσεται. G.

h παρελευσεται. G.

l —της. G.

k η. G.

l —μν. G

To this verse there is
nothing, which corresponds
in St. Luke's text.

SECT. XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX.

Judas bribed. Christ eats the passover with his disciples. He goes to the mount of Olives; where he is seized by a guard from the chief priests.

Matth. xxvi. 14—29.
30—46.
47—58.

Mark xiv. 10—25.
26—42.
43—54.

14. Πᾶ ἐστὶ τὸ καλὸν κλυμα,
ὅπως τὸ πασχα μείλα τῶν μα-
θητῶν με φαγω;

15. Καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν δεῖξει
ἀνωγειν^a μέγα, ἐσρωμενον,
ἐτοιμον· ἐκεῖ ἐτοιμασατέ ἡμῖν.

16. Καὶ ἐξηλθον οἱ μα-
θηταὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν
πολιν, καὶ ἔνθρον καθὼς εἶπεν
αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἡτοιμασαν τὸ
πασχα.

20, 21. Οψίας δὲ γενομε-
νης ἀνεκείλο μείλα τῶν δωδεκά.

καὶ ἐσθιοντῶν αὐτῶν, εἶπεν·
ἀμην λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἷς ἐξ
ὑμῶν παραδώσει με

17, 18. Καὶ οψίας γενομε-
νης ἐρχεται μείλα τῶν δωδεκά·
καὶ ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν,
καὶ ἐσθιοντῶν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς·
ἀμην λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἷς ἐξ
ὑμῶν παραδώσει με, ὁ ἐσθίων
μετ' ἐμοῦ.

SECT. XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX.

Judas bribed. Christ eats the passover with his disciples. He goes to the mount of Olives; where he is seized by a guard from the chief priests.

Luke xxii. 3—23.

39—46.

47—55.

REMARKS.

11. Πρῆξι το καβαλυμα
ὅπρ το πασχα μελα των μα-
θηλων με φαγω;

12. Κακεινος ὑμιν δειξει
ανωγειον^b μεγα εσρωμενον.

εκει ετοιμασατε.

13. Απελθουεις δε

εϋρον καθως ειρηκεν
αυτοις· και ητοιμασαν το
πασχα.

^a Αναγαιον. G.

^b Αναγαιον. G. Whatever orthography be adopted for this word, whether we write ανωγειον, as in the common text, or ανωγαιον, as in the Codex Vaticanus, or αναγαιον, as in most other ancient manuscripts, neither St. Mark nor St. Luke have ever used it on any other occasion. Nor does it occur in any other instance, either in the N. T. or in the LXX. It denotes ‘conclave superius,’ and is equivalent to the Hebrew word *הֵיכָל*: but this Hebrew word, which frequently occurs in the Old Testament, is invariably rendered in the LXX. by *ὑπερωον*, and St. Luke himself has likewise used *ὑπερωον* several times in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it probable then, that, if the texts of St. Mark and St. Luke contained two independent translations, the same Hebrew word (whether *הֵיכָל* or not) should have been rendered by both translators, in the very same place, by ανωγειον?

Matth. xxvi. 14—29.

30—46.

47—58.

24. Ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει, καθὼς γεγραπταὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι' ὃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδεται. καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ ἐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκεῖνος.

26. Ἐσθιοντων δὲ αὐτῶν, λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν ἀρτόν, καὶ εὐλογήσας ἐκλάσας, καὶ ἐδίδοτο τοῖς μαθηταῖς, καὶ εἶπε· λαβετε, φαγεῖτε· τὸ ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου.

27. Καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λεγών·

πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

28. Τὸ ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα μου τοῦ τοῦ καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον, εἰς ἁφῆσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

29. Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐ μὴ πῶς ἀπ' ἀρτοῦ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γεννηματος τῆς ἀμπέλης, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ὅταν αὐτοὶ πῶς, μεθ' ὑμῶν καίνοι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

30. Καὶ ὑμνησαύτες ἐξηλθόντες εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν.

Mark xiv. 10—25.

26—42.

43—54.

21. Ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει, καθὼς γεγραπταὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι' ὃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδεται. καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ ἐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκεῖνος.

22. Καὶ ἐσθιοντων αὐτῶν, λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀρτόν, καὶ εὐλογήσας ἐκλάσας, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ εἶπε· λαβετε, φαγεῖτε· τὸ ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου.

23. Καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς·

καὶ ἐπίοντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

24. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·

Τὸ ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα μου τοῦ τοῦ καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον.

25. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῶς ἐκ τοῦ γεννηματος τῆς ἀμπέλης, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ὅταν αὐτοὶ πῶς καίνοι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

26. Καὶ ὑμνησαύτες ἐξηλθόντες εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν.

Luke xxii. 3—23.

39—46.

47—55.

REMARKS.

19. Καὶ
 λαβὼν ἄρτον,
 εὐχαριστήσας ἐκλάσσει, καὶ ἐδώ-
 κεν αὐτοῖς.

c — φαγιτι. G.

18. Λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι
 οὐ μὴ πτω ἀπὸ τοῦ
 γεννηματος τῆς ἀμπελῆς, ἕως
 ὅτε

ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐλθῇ.

Matth. xxvi. 14—29.

30—46.

47—58.

31. Τότε λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησὺς· πάντες ὑμεῖς σκανδαλισθησέσθε ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ· γεγραπταὶ γάρ· παταξῶ τὸν ποίμενα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ προβάτα τῆς ποιμνῆς.

32. Μία δὲ το ἐγερθῆναι με, προαξῶ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

33. Αποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εἰ καὶ πάντες σκανδαλισθησούμαι ἐν σοὶ, ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε σκανδαλισθήσομαι.

38. Τότε λέγει αὐτοῖς· περιλυπὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ μὲ ἕως θανάτου· μείνατε ὡδὲ καὶ γρηγορεῖτε μετ' ἐμοῦ.

40. Καὶ ἐρχέται πρὸς τὰς μαθήτας, καὶ εὕρισκει αὐτὰς καθευδούσας· καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ· ὥτως οὐκ ἰσχυράτε μίαν ὥραν γρηγορῆσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ;

41. Γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσευχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ εἰσελθῇ εἰς πειρασμόν· τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα προθυμον, ἡ δὲ σαρὶς ἀσθενής.

45. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· καθευδέτε το λοιπόν, καὶ ἀναπαυεσθε· ἰδὲ ἡγγικεν ἡ ὥρα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδεται εἰς χεῖρας ἀμαρτωλῶν.

46. Ἐγείρεσθε, ἀγώμεν· ἰδὲ, ἡγγικεν ὁ παραδίδας με.

Mark xiv. 10—25.

26—42.

43—54.

27. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησὺς· ὅτι πάντες σκανδαλισθησέσθε ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ· ὅτι γεγραπταὶ· παταξῶ τὸν ποίμενα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ προβάτα.

28. Ἀλλὰ μία το ἐγερθῆναι με, προαξῶ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

29. Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ πάντες σκανδαλισθησούμαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγώ.

34. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· περιλυπὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ μὲ ἕως θανάτου· μείνατε ὡδὲ καὶ γρηγορεῖτε.

37. Καὶ ἐρχέται, καὶ εὕρισκει αὐτὰς καθευδούσας· καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ· Σίμων, καθευδεῖς; οὐκ ἰσχυσας μίαν ὥραν γρηγορῆσαι;

38. Γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσευχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ εἰσελθῇ εἰς πειρασμόν· τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα προθυμον, ἡ δὲ σαρὶς ἀσθενής.

41. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, καθευδέτε το λοιπόν, καὶ ἀναπαυεσθε· ἀπεχει, ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα· ἰδὲ, παραδίδομαι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν.

42. Ἐγείρεσθε, ἀγώμεν· ἰδὲ, ὁ παραδίδας με ἡγγικεν.

Luke xxii. 3—23.

39—46.

47—55.

REMARKS.

To these two verses there is nothing, which corresponds in St. Luke's text.

To this verse there is nothing, which corresponds in St. Luke's text.

To this passage there is nothing, which corresponds in St. Luke's text.

^d This is a quotation from Zech. xiii. 7. where the words of the Hebrew text are, **הַךְ אֶת־הַרְעָה וְתִפְּצֵן הַצֹּאן**, 'percutite pastorem et dissipabitur grex': to which the text of the LXX. according to the Codex Alexandrinus, **παταξον τον ποιμενα και διασκορπισθησονται τα προβατα της ποιμνης**, corresponds; but the Codex Vaticanus has **παταξατε της ποιμενας, και εσπασατε τα προβατα**. St. Matthew and St. Mark agree in having **παταξω**, which is different both from the Hebrew, and the LXX. even according to the Codex Alexandrinus.

Matth. xxvi. 14—29.

30—46.

47—58.

47. Καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν
λαλεῖντος, ἰδὼς Ἰεζάς
εἰς τῶν δώδεκα ἦλθε, καὶ μετ'
αὐτῆς ὄχλος πολλὸς μέλα μα-
χαίρων καὶ ξυλῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀρχιερέων,

καὶ πρεσβυτέρων τε λαῶν.

48. Ὁ δὲ παραδίδας
αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς σημεῖον,
λεγων· ὃν ἂν φιλήσω, αὐτὸς
ἐστὶ· κρατήσατε αὐτόν.

55. Ὡς ἐπὶ λῆσιν
ἐξηλθέτε μέλα μαχαίρων καὶ
ξύλων συλλαβεῖν με· Καθ'
ἡμέραν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκαθεζομένην
διδασκῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ ἐκ
ἐκρατήσαί με.

Mark xiv. 10—25.

26—42.

43—54.

43. Καὶ εὐθὺς, ἐπὶ αὐτῆς
λαλεῖντος, παραγίνεται Ἰεζάς
εἰς ὧν τῶν δώδεκα, καὶ μετ'
αὐτῆς ὄχλος πολλὸς μέλα μα-
χαίρων καὶ ξυλῶν, παρὰ τῶν
ἀρχιερέων, καὶ τῶν γραμμα-
τέων, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων.

44. Δέδωκε δὲ ὁ παρα-
δίδας αὐτὸν συσσημὸν αὐτοῖς
λεγων· ὃν ἂν φιλήσω, αὐτὸς
ἐστὶ· κρατήσαί με αὐτόν.

48, 49. Ὡς ἐπὶ λῆσιν
ἐξηλθέι μέλα μαχαίρων καὶ
ξύλων συλλαβεῖν με· Καθ'
ἡμέραν ἡμῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων, καὶ ἐκ
ἐκρατήσαί με.

Luke xxii. 3—23.
 39—46.
 47—55.

REMARKS.

* Here St. Matthew and St. Mark agree in the use of the compound verb συλλαμβανω, though it never occurs in any other part of their Gospels, and in other places they have both of them used the simple verb λαμβανω in the sense of 'to seize,' or 'to apprehend,' which συλλαμβανω expresses here. For instance, in the parable of the disobedient husbandmen, St. Matthew has twice used λαμβανω in this sense, ch. xxi. 35. 39. and in this parable St. Mark has likewise λαμβανω in this sense in the two corresponding places, ch. xii. 3. 8. Where the one therefore expresses the notion of 'to seize' by λαμβανω, the other does the same, and where the one expresses this notion by συλλαμβανω, the other does likewise the same.

SECT. XLI.

The Crucifixion.

Matth. xxvii. 20—66.

39, 40. Οἱ δὲ παραπο-
 ρεύομενοι ἐβλάσφημῶν αὐτὸν,
 κινεῖντες τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν,
 καὶ λεγόντες· ὁ καταλύων τὸν
 ναὸν, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις
 οἰκοδομῶν, σῶσον σεαυτὸν· εἰ
 υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καταβῆθι ἀπο-
 τοῦ σταυροῦ.

41, 42. Ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ οἱ
 ἀρχιερεῖς ἐμπαιζόντες
 μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων
 καὶ πρεσβυτέρων
 ἐλεγον· ἄλλῃς ἐσώσῃς, ἑαυτὸν
 οὐ δύναται σῶσαι.

Mark xv. 11—47.

29, 30. Καὶ οἱ παραπο-
 ρεύομενοι ἐβλάσφημῶν αὐτὸν,
 κινεῖντες τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν,
 καὶ λεγόντες· ἔα, ὁ καταλύων
 τὸν ναὸν, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις
 οἰκοδομῶν, σῶσον σεαυτὸν·
 καὶ καταβῆθι ἀπο-
 τοῦ σταυροῦ.

31, 32. Ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ οἱ
 ἀρχιερεῖς ἐμπαιζόντες πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων
 ἐλεγον· ἄλλῃς ἐσώσῃς, ἑαυτὸν
 οὐ δύναται σῶσαι.

SECT. XLI.

The Crucifixion.

Luke xxiii. 18—56.

REMARKS.

To these two verses
there is nothing, which
corresponds in St. Luke's
text.

SECT. XLII.

The Resurrection.

Matth. xxviii.

7. ΕΙΠΑΤΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙΣ
ΑΥΤΕ,

.....

ΠΡΟΑΓΕΙ ὙΜΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΑΛΙ-
ΛΑΙΑΝ· ΕΚΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΨΕΣΘΕ.

Mark xvi.

7. ΕΙΠΑΤΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙΣ
ΑΥΤΕ,

.....

ΠΡΟΑΓΕΙ ὙΜΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΑΛΙ-
ΛΑΙΑΝ· ΕΚΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΨΕΣΘΕ.

S E C T. XLII.

The Resurrection.

Luke xxiv.

REMARKS.

To this passage there is
nothing which corresponds
in St. Luke's text.

SECOND DIVISION.

EXAMPLES OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE
SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MATTHEW
AND ST. MARK ^a

SECT. I.

Call of Peter, Andrew, James, and John, to the
Apostleship.

Matth. iv. 12. 17—21.

18. Περιπαλῶν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ^b
παρα τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γα-
λιλαίας, εἶδε δύο ἀδελφούς,
Σιμῶνα, τὸν λεγόμενον Πέτρον,
καὶ Ἀνδρέαν, τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ
βαλλοῦντας ἀμφιβληστρον εἰς
τὴν θάλασσαν· ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλιεῖς.

19. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς·
δεῦτε ὀπίσω με, καὶ
ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἁλιεῖς
ἀνθρώπων.

20. Οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς ἀφέντες
τὰ δίκτυα, ἠκολούθησαν
αὐτῷ.

21. Καὶ πρόβας ἐκεῖθεν
εἶδεν ἄλλους δύο ἀδελφούς, Ἰα-
κώβον τὸν τε Ζεβεδαίου, καὶ
Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐν
τῷ πλοίῳ μέλα Ζεβεδαίου τε
πατρός αὐτῶν, καθαρτίζούσας
τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν
αὐτούς.

Mark i. 14—20.

16. Περιπαλῶν δὲ
παρα τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γα-
λιλαίας, εἶδε
Σιμῶνα,
καὶ Ἀνδρέαν, τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ
βαλλοῦντας ^c ἀμφιβληστρον ^d ἐν
τῇ θάλασσῃ· ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλιεῖς.

17. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ
Ἰησοῦς· δεῦτε ὀπίσω με, καὶ
ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενεσθαι ἁλιεῖς
ἀνθρώπων.

18. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀφέντες
τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν, ἠκολούθησαν
αὐτῷ.

19, 20. Καὶ πρόβας
ἐκεῖθεν ὀλίγον, εἶδεν Ἰα-
κώβον τὸν τε Ζεβεδαίου, καὶ
Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ
καθαρτίζούσας
τὰ δίκτυα· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκάλεσεν
αὐτούς.

SECOND DIVISION.

EXAMPLES OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE
SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MATTHEW
AND ST. MARK ^a.

SECT. I.

Call of Peter, Andrew, James, and John, to the
Apostleship.

REMARKS.

^a These sections are stated by Eichhorn, Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 922—924. He has not affixed numbers to them, as he has done to the sections common to all three Evangelists: but I shall number them in the following statement, that they may be better distinguished the one from the other.

^b — ὁ Ἰησους. G.

^c ἀμφιβαλλοντας. G.

^d Here St. Matthew and St. Mark agree in the use of ἀμφιβαλλον, a word, which they have never used on any other occasion. At other times they have expressed 'net' by δίκτυον.

SECT. IV.

Jesus crosses the sea, and comes to the land of Genesareth: where he reproves the Scribes and Pharisees on account of their traditions; cures the daughter of a Canaanite woman; feeds four thousand men with seven loaves and a few fishes; and censures the Pharisees and Sadducees, who required a sign from heaven.

Matth. xiv. 22—xvi. 12.

Mark vi. 45—vii. 31.
viii. 1—26.

xiv. 22. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἤναγκασεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς^α τὰς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ^β ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ προαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πέραν, ἕως ἃ ἀπολύσῃ τὰς ὀχλὰς.

34. Καὶ διαπερασάντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν γῆν Γεννησαρετ.

xv. 7, 8. Ὑποκρίται καλῶς προεφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαίας, λέγων· ὁ λαὸς ἔστος τοῖς χεῖλεσι με τιμα^ς, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πορρω ἀπεχεῖ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

9. Μάτην δὲ σεβούλαι με διδασκοῦντες διδασκαλίας, ἐν-ταλμάλα ἀνθρώπων^δ.

10. Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἀκκέϊτε, καὶ συνίετε.

vi. 45. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἤναγκασεν τὰς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ^β ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ προαγεῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαϊδαν, ἕως αὐτοῦ ἀπολύσῃ τὸν ὄχλον.

53. Καὶ διαπερασάντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν Γεννησαρετ.
vii. 6.

Καλῶς προεφήτευσεν Ἡσαίας περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ὑποκρίτων ὡς γεγραπταί· ἔστος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χεῖλεσι με τιμα, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πορρω ἀπεχεῖ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

7. Μάτην δὲ σεβούλαι με διδασκοῦντες διδασκαλίας, ἐν-ταλμάλα ἀνθρώπων.

14. Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος πάντα τὸν ὄχλον ἐλέγεν αὐτοῖς· ἀκκέϊτε με πάντες, καὶ συνίετε.

SECT. IV.

Jesus crosses the sea, and comes to the land of Genesaret; where he reproves the Scribes and Pharisees on account of their traditions; cures the daughter of a Canaanite woman; feeds four thousand men with seven loaves and a few fishes; and censures the Pharisees and Sadducees, who required a sign from heaven.

REMARKS.

^a — ὁ Ἰησους. G.

^b — αὐτη. G.

^c This is Griesbach's text. In the common text *εγγίζει μοι* has been interpolated before *ὁ λαος ἔτος*, and *τῷ σωματι αὐτῶν καὶ* after it.

^d This is a quotation from Isaiah xxix. 13. which according to the text of the LXX. is *Εγγίζει μοι ὁ λαος ἔτος ἐν τῷ σωματι αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσι με· ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν περὶ ἀπεχεῖται ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· ματὴν δὲ σιβῶνται με, διδασκοῖτες ἐνταλματα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διδασκαλίας.* But St. Matthew and St. Mark have some variations from this text, and at the same time where they differ from the LXX. they agree with each other. Namely, they both omit *εγγίζει μοι* and *ἐν τῷ σωματι αὐτῶν καὶ*, for though these words are in the common text of St. Matthew's Gospel, they are certainly interpolations from the LXX. as may be seen on consulting the authorities quoted by Griesbach. Further, they agree in omitting *ἐν* before, and *αὐτῶν* after, *χεῖλεσι*, and in substituting *με τιμᾶ* for *τιμῶσι με*. Lastly, they agree in reading *διδασκαλίας ἐνταλματα ἀνθρώπων* instead of *ἐνταλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας*.

Matth. xiv. 22.—xvi. 12.

26. Οὐκ ἐστὶ καλὸν
λαβεῖν τὸν ἀγρὸν τῶν τέκνων,
καὶ βαλεῖν τοῖς κυνᾶριοις.

32. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς προσκα-
λεσάμενος τὰς μαθητάς
αὐτῶν, εἶπε· σπλαγ-
χνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον ὅτι ἡδὴ
ἡμέρας^ε τρεῖς προσμένετε μοι,
καὶ οὐκ ἐχέτε τι φαγεῖν.

Mark vi. 45.—vii. 31.
viii. 1—26.

27. Οὐ γὰρ καλὸν ἐστὶ
λαβεῖν τὸν ἀγρὸν τῶν τέκνων
καὶ βαλεῖν τοῖς κυνᾶριοις.

viii. 1, 2. Προσκαλεσα-
μένος ὁ Ἰησοῦς^ε τὰς μαθητάς
αὐτῶν, λέγει αὐτοῖς· σπλαγ-
χνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον ὅτι ἡδὴ
ἡμέρας^ε τρεῖς προσμένετε μοι,
καὶ οὐκ ἐχέτε τι φαγεῖν.

S E C T. V.

Christ answers the Pharisees concerning divorces.

Matth. xix. 1—12

5, 6. Ἐνεκεν τούτου κατὰ-
λείπει, ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα
καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ
προσκολληθήσεται τῇ
γυναικὶ αὐτῆς· καὶ ἐσονται οἱ
δύο εἰς σὰρκα μιαν· ὥστε
ἐκεῖ ἐῖσι δύο, ἀλλὰ σὰρξ μία.
Ὁ ἐν ὁ Θεὸς συνεζευξεν, ἀν-
θρώπος μὴ χωρίζτω.

Mark x. 1—12.

7, 8, 9. Ἐνεκεν τούτου κατὰ-
λείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα
αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ
προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν
γυναικα αὐτῆς· καὶ ἐσονται οἱ
δύο εἰς σὰρκα μιαν^α. ὥστε
ἐκεῖ ἐῖσι δύο, ἀλλὰ σὰρξ μία.
Ὁ ἐν ὁ Θεὸς συνεζευξεν, ἀν-
θρώπος μὴ χωρίζτω.

REMARKS.

* —ὁ Ἰησοῦς. G.

† ἡμεραι. G.

‡ ἡμεραι. G.

S E C T. V.

Christ answers the Pharisees concerning divorces.

REMARKS.

* Gen. ii. 24. Ἐνεκεν τὴν καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἑσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σὰρκα μίαν, which is precisely St. Mark's text; and therefore this example is of no value in the present inquiry.

SECT. VI.

Christ answers to the request, that James and John, the sons of Zebedee, may obtain the first place in the kingdom of heaven.

Matth. xx. 20—28.

22, 23. Οὐκ οἰδαὶ τι αἰεῖσθε. Δυνασθε πίνειν το πότηριον ὃ ἐγὼ μελλῶ πίνειν, καὶ το βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι^a; Λεγέσιν αὐτῷ, δυναμέθα. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς^b το μὲν ποτήριον μὲ πῖεσθε, καὶ το βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθήσεσθε^c· το δὲ καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μὲ, καὶ ἐξ ἐνωπύων μὲ ἔκ εἰς ἐμὸν θῆναι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοίμασαι ὑποτὸ πᾶσι^d μὲ.

24. Καὶ ἀκροσάντες οἱ δεκά ηγενακήσαν περὶ τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν.

25. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς παροσκαλεσάμενος^e αὐτοὺς, εἶπεν· οἰδαὶ, ὅτι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἀκυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι κατεξουσιάζουσιν αὐτῶν.

26. Οὐκ ἔτι^f δεῖ εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ὅς εαν θελῇ ἐν ὑμῖν μέγας γενεσθαι, ἐσὼ^g ὑμῶν διάκονος.

Mark x. 35—45.

38—40. Οὐκ οἰδαὶ τι αἰεῖσθε. Δυνασθε πίνειν το πότηριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω, καὶ το βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι; Οἱ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ^a δυναμέθα. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς^b το μὲν ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω, πῖεσθε, καὶ το βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθήσεσθε^c· το δὲ καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μὲ, καὶ ἐξ ἐνωπύων μὲ^d ἔκ εἰς ἐμὸν θῆναι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοίμασαι.

41. Καὶ ἀκροσάντες οἱ δεκά ἡρξάντο ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου.

42. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς παροσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς, λέγει αὐτοῖς· οἰδαὶ ὅτι οἱ δοκῦντες ἀρχεῖν τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἀκυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι αὐτῶν κατεξουσιάζουσιν αὐτῶν.

43. Οὐκ ἔτι^f δεῖ εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ὅς εαν θελῇ γενεσθαι μέγας ἐν ὑμῖν, εἶναι διάκονος ὑμῶν^g.

S E C T. VI.

Christ answers to the request, that James and John, the sons of Zebedee, may obtain the first place in the kingdom of heaven.

REMARKS.

^a These words *καὶ το βαπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι*, and presently after *καὶ το βαπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆσθε* are wanting, in St. Matthew's text, in the Codex Vaticanus, Codex Bezae, Codex Stephani η, and the quotation of Origen, not to mention other good authorities quoted by Griesbach. It is therefore highly probable, if not certain, that these words in St. Matthew's text are an interpolation from that of St. Mark, made by transcribers, who fancied, that because St. Matthew's text was shorter, it was defective. However, if we deduct these words, St. Matthew's text is still that of St. Mark, though less full.

^b — *με. G.*

^c — *δε. G.*

^d *εἶπαι* is preferred by Griesbach.

^e *ὑμῶν διακονος. G.*

Matth. xx. 20—28.

27. Καὶ ὅς εαν θελῇ ἐν
ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος, ἐσὼ^τ ὑμῶν
δoulos.

28. Ὡσπερ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
ανθρώπου ἐκλήθη διακονηθῆναι,
ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι, καὶ δοῦναι
τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ
πολλῶν.

Mark x. 35—45.

44. Καὶ ὅς ἀν θελῇ
ὑμῶν γενεσθαι πρῶτος, ἐσὼ
παντῶν δoulos.

45. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
ανθρώπου ἐκλήθη διακονηθῆναι,
ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι, καὶ δοῦναι
τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ
πολλῶν.

REMARKS.

f Here likewise Griefbach prefers $\epsilon\sigma\alpha$.

THIRD DIVISION.

EXAMPLE OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE
SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MARK AND
ST. LUKE.

SECT. I.

Christ cures a demoniac in the synagogue at
Capernaum.

Mark i. 21—28.

24. Εα, τι ἡμῖν καὶ σοὶ
Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνῇ; ἠλθες απο-
λεσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδα σε τίς εἰ,
ὁ ἅγιος τε Θεός.

25. Καὶ ἐπέιμνησεν αὐτῷ
ὁ Ἰησοῦς, λέγων· φιμωθήῃ, καὶ
ἐξέλθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

Luke iv. 31—37.

34. Εα, τι ἡμῖν καὶ σοὶ,
Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνῇ; ἠλθες απο-
λεσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδα σε τίς εἰ,
ὁ ἅγιος τε Θεός.

35. Καὶ ἐπέιμνησεν αὐτῷ
ὁ Ἰησοῦς, λέγων· φιμωθήῃ, καὶ
ἐξέλθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

This is the only instance of verbal agreement, which I have observed in the sections common only to St. Mark and St. Luke: and in the rest even of this section St. Mark and St. Luke have expressed themselves very differently. A complete analysis of this section is given in Eichhorn's Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 957—960.

THIRD DIVISION.

EXAMPLE OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE
SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MARK AND
ST. LUKE^a.

SECT. I.

Christ cures a démoniac in the synagogue at
Capernaum.

REMARKS.

^a Eichhorn Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 950.

FOURTH DIVISION.

EXAMPLES OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE
SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MATTHEW
AND ST. LUKE ^a.

SECT. I.

Sermon on the mount ^b.

Matth. v. vi. vii.

v. 44. Ἀγαπάτε τὰς
ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν· εὐλογεῖτε τὰς
καταραζόμενους ὑμᾶς· καλῶς
ποιεῖτε τὰς μισούντας ^c ὑμᾶς·
καὶ προσευχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἐπηρεάζοντων ^d ὑμᾶς.

vi. 21. Ὅπως γὰρ εἰσὶν ὁ
θησαυρὸς ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ ἐσθαι καὶ
ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν.

22, 23. Ὁ λυχνὸς τῆς σω-
ματῆς εἰσὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς· ἐὰν
ἐν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σε ἀπλῆς ἦ,
ὅλον το σῶμα σε φωτίζειν
ἔσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σε
πονηρὸς ἦ, ὅλον το σῶμα σε
σκόλειν ἔσθαι.

Luke vi. 20—49, &c.

vi. 27, 28. Ἀγαπάτε τὰς
ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν· καλῶς ποιεῖτε
τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς· εὐλογεῖτε
τὰς καταραζόμενους ὑμῖν· καὶ
προσευχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρε-
άζοντων ^d ὑμᾶς.

xii. 34. Ὅπως γὰρ εἰσὶν ὁ
θησαυρὸς ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ καὶ
ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν ἐσθαι.

xi. 34. Ὁ λυχνὸς τῆς σω-
ματῆς εἰσὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς· ὅταν
ἐν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σε ἀπλῆς ἦ,
καὶ ὅλον το σῶμα σε φωτίζειν
ἔσθαι· ἐπὶ δὲ πονηρὸς ἦ, καὶ
το σῶμα σε σκόλειν.

FOURTH DIVISION.

EXAMPLES OF VERBAL AGREEMENT IN THE SECTIONS COMMON ONLY TO ST. MATTHEW AND ST. LUKE ^a.

SECT. I.

Sermon on the mount ^b.

REMARKS.

^a Eichhorn Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 964. Eichhorn reckons among these sections the additional circumstances relative to Christ's temptation, which are recorded by St. Matthew, ch. iv. 1. &c. and by St. Luke, ch. iv. 1, &c. But I have omitted this section here, because it properly belongs to Sect. III. in the First Division, where the verbal agreement has been already stated. On the other hand, Sect. IV. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI. in the following list are not noted by Eichhorn, where he mentions the portions peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke.

^b In St. Matthew's Gospel the sermon on the mount takes up three whole chapters, v. vi. vii.: in St. Luke's Gospel only thirty verses, ch. vi. 20—49. But since many of the precepts, which St. Matthew has delivered in connexion, are found in scattered parts of the long portion, Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. I have brought into the present section those, which have a verbal coincidence with St. Matthew.

^c τοῖς μισθοῖν. G. If we adopt this reading, which is undoubtedly the genuine one, the words used in this passage by St. Matthew and St. Luke are precisely the same. In the arrangement there is a small difference: for the second and third precepts are placed in a different order.

^d Neither St. Matthew nor St. Luke have used ἐνῆραζω on any other occasion. It is a word, which never occurs in the LXX. and is used only in one other instance in the whole New Testament.

^e + σθ. G.

Matth. v. vi. vii.

24. Ουδεις

δυναται δυσι κυριοις δελευειν·
η γαρ τον ένα μισησει, και τον
ετερον αγαπησει, η ενος αν-
δεξείαι, και τε ετερεν καλα-
φρονησει· η δυνασθε Θεω δε-
λευειν και μαμμωνα.

25.

Δια τῆτο
λεγω ὑμιν· μη μεριμνατε τη
ψυχῇ ὑμων τι φαγητε, και
τι πινητε, μηδε τῷ σωματι
ὑμων τι ενδυσηθε. Ουχι ἡ
ψυχη πλειον εσι της τροφης,
και το σωμα τε ενδυματος;

26.

27. Τις δε εξ ὑμων με-
ριμνων δυναται προσθειναι επι
την ἡλικιαν αὐτε πηχυν ένα;

28, 29. Καταμαθετε τα
κρινα τε αγρου, πως αυξανει·
η κοπια, εδε νηθει· λεγω δε
ὑμιν, οτι εδε Σολομων εν παση
τη δοξη αὐτε περιεβαλει ο
εν τῆτων.

30. Ει δε τον χορτον τε
αγρου, σημερον οῖλα, και αυριον
εις κλιθαινον βαλλομενον, ο
Θεος ἔτως αμφιεννυσι, η πολλω
μαλλον ὑμας, ολιγοπιστοι;

31.

Luke vi. 20—49, &c.

xvi. 13. Ουδεις οικείης

δυναται δυσι κυριοις δελευειν·
η γαρ τον ένα μισησει, και τον
ετερον αγαπησει, η εν αν-
δεξείαι, και τε ετερεν καλα-
φρονησει· η δυνασθε Θεω δε-
λευειν και μαμμωνα.

xii. 22, 23. Δια τῆτο

ὑμιν λεγω· μη μεριμνατε τη
ψυχῇ ὑμων, τι φαγητε,
μηδε τῷ σωματι τι
ενδυσηθε. Ἡ
ψυχη πλειον εσι της τροφης,
και το σωμα τε ενδυματος.

24. The same subject,
but in different words.

25. Τις δε εξ ὑμων με-
ριμνων δυναται προσθειναι επι
την ἡλικιαν αὐτε πηχυν ένα;

26. Corresponds to the
former part of Matth. vi.
28. but the words are dif-
ferent.

27. Κατανοησατε τα
κρινα, πως αυξανει·
η κοπια, εδε νηθει· λεγω δε
ὑμιν, οτι εδε Σολομων εν παση
τη δοξη αὐτε περιεβαλει ο
εν τῆτων.

28. Ει δε τον χορτον εν τῷ
αγρῷ, σημερον οῖλα, και αυριον
εις κλιθαινον βαλλομενον, ο
Θεος ἔτως αμφιεννυσι ποσω
μαλλον ὑμας ολιγοπιστοι;

29. The same subject
in different words.

REMARKS.

Matth. v. vi. vii.

Mark vi. 20—49, &c.

32. Πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τα
ἐθνη ἐπιζητεῖ·
οἶδε γὰρ ὁ παῖς ὑμῶν ὁ
ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὅτι ζητεῖτε τῶν
ἀπάντων.

33. Ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν
βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν
δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὰ πάντα
προσθήσεται ὑμῖν.

vii. 1. Μὴ κρινεῖτε, ἵνα
μὴ κριθῆτε.

2. Ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κριμαῖι, κρι-
νεῖτε κριθήσεσθε καὶ ἐν ᾧ με-
τρώ μετρεῖτε, ἀνιμετρήθη-
σέαι ὑμῖν.

3. Τί δὲ βλέπετε τὸ καρ-
πος τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σώ-
ματι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου οὐ βλέπετε;

5. Ὑποκρίσας, ἐκβαλε
πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ
σου, καὶ τότε διαβλεψείς· ἐκ-
βάλειν τὸν καρφὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφ-
θαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

7. Αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται
ὑμῖν· ζητεῖτε καὶ εὕρησέτε·
κρεῖτε, καὶ ανοιγησέαι ὑμῖν.

8. Πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰὼν λαμ-
βάνει, καὶ ὁ ζῶν εὕρισκει,
καὶ τὸ κρεόντι ανοιγησέαι.

30. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα τα
ἐθνη τοῦ κόσμου ἐπιζητεῖ· ὑμῶν
δὲ ὁ παῖς οἶδεν,
ὅτι ζητεῖτε τῶν.

31. Πλὴν ζητεῖτε τὴν
βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ·
καὶ τὰ πάντα
προσθήσεται ὑμῖν.

vi. 37. Μὴ κρινεῖτε, καὶ οὐ
μὴ κριθῆτε.

38.
τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ με-
τρώ ᾧ μετρεῖτε, ἀνιμετρήθη-
σέαι ὑμῖν.

41. Τί δὲ βλέπετε τὸ καρ-
πος τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ δοκὸν τὴν ἐν
τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀφθαλμῷ οὐ βλέπετε;

42. Ὑποκρίσας, ἐκβαλε
πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ
σου, καὶ τότε διαβλεψείς· ἐκ-
βάλειν τὸν καρφὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφ-
θαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

xi. 9. Αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται
ὑμῖν· ζητεῖτε, καὶ εὕρησέτε·
κρεῖτε, καὶ ανοιγησέαι ὑμῖν.

10. Πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰὼν λαμ-
βάνει, καὶ ὁ ζῶν εὕρισκει,
καὶ τὸ κρεόντι ανοιγησέαι.

^f Διαβλεπω used here both by St. Matthew and St. Luke occurs no where else, either in the New Testament, or in the Septuagint, or the Greek Apocrypha. Nor has it been hitherto quoted from any classic author.

S E C T. II.

Cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum.

Matth. viii. 5—13.

8. Κυριε,
 ἐγὼ εἰμι ἰκανὸς ἵνα με ὑπο τὴν
 σέγγην εἰσελθῇς·

ἀλλὰ μόνον εἶπε λόγον^α, καὶ
 ἰαθησέαι ὁ παῖς μου.

9. Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀνθρώπου
 εἰμι ὑπο ἑξῆσιαν,
 ἔχων ὑπ' ἐμαυτὸν στρατιῶτας·
 καὶ λέγω τετῶ, πορευθήη,
 καὶ πορευεῖται· καὶ ἄλλῳ,
 ἐρχε καὶ ἐρχέται· καὶ τῷ
 δεῦλῳ μου, ποιήσον τεῖλο, καὶ
 ποιεῖ.

10. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ
 Ἰησοῦς ἐθαύμασε· καὶ
 εἶπε τοῖς ἀκολουθεσὶν· ἀμὴν
 λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐδε
 ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τοσαύτην πίστεν
 εὑροῦν.

Luke vii. 1—10.

6, 7. Κυριε, μὴ σκυλλε· ἃ
 γὰρ εἰμι ἰκανὸς ἵνα ὑπο τὴν
 σέγγην μου εἰσελθῇς· διὸ οὐδε
 ἐμαυτὸν ἠξίωσα πρὸς σε ελθεῖν·
 ἀλλὰ εἶπε λόγῳ καὶ
 ἰαθησέαι ὁ παῖς μου.

8. Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀνθρώπου
 εἰμι ὑπο ἑξῆσιαν τασσομενός,
 ἔχων ὑπ' ἐμαυτὸν στρατιώτας·
 καὶ λέγω τεῖλῳ, πορευθήη,
 καὶ πορευεῖται· καὶ ἄλλῳ,
 ἐρχε καὶ ἐρχέται· καὶ τῷ
 δεῦλῳ μου, ποιήσον τεῖλο, καὶ
 ποιεῖ.

9. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ
 Ἰησοῦς ἐθαύμασεν αὐτὸν· καὶ
 γραφείς τῷ ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ
 ὁχλῷ, εἶπε· λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐδε
 ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τοσαύτην πίστεν
 εὑροῦν.

SECT. II.

Cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum.

REMARKS.

* *Λογιστ.* G. If we adopt this reading, St. Matthew's text agrees with that of St. Luke, though the latter has additions not contained in the former.

SECT. III.

Christ's discourse with certain persons, who wished to become his disciples.

Matth. viii. 19—22.

20. Αἱ ἀλαπεκεῖς φώλεες
 ἔχουσιν, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τῶν
 οὐρανῶν κατασκηνοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχει πᾶν τὴν
 κεφαλὴν κλινῇ.

22. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ,
 ἀκολούθει μοι, καὶ ἀφες τὰς
 νεκρὰς θάψαι τὰς ἑαυτῶν
 νεκρὰς².

Luke ix. 57—62.

58. Αἱ ἀλαπεκεῖς φώλεες
 ἔχουσιν, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τῶν
 οὐρανῶν κατασκηνοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχει πᾶν τὴν
 κεφαλὴν κλινῇ.

60. Εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς·
 ἀφες τὰς
 νεκρὰς θάψαι τὰς ἑαυτῶν
 νεκρὰς.

S E C T. III.

Christ's discourse with certain persons, who wished to become his disciples.

REMARKS.

* In the Syriac version these words are rendered by *ܡܪܬܘܬܐ ܡܫܥܝܢܐ ܡܪܬܘܬܐ ܡܫܥܝܢܐ*, 'fine mortuos sepelientes mortuos suos,' that is, 'fine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos,' for in Syriac the participle is frequently used instead of the infinitive. Hence Bolten in a Note to his German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, p. 138. (Bericht des Matthæus, Altona, 1792, 8vo.) conjectures, that these were the words of Christ, as first committed to writing in Syriac or Chaldee, but that his real meaning was different from that which is expressed in the translation of them exhibited in the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke. He supposes namely, that *ܡܫܥܝܢܐ* was intended to express, not 'sepelientes,' but 'sepelientibus,' like *ܡܫܥܝܢܐ*, since *ܕ*, the sign of the dative, is frequently understood. The meaning of the Syriac words will then be, 'Relinque mortuos sepelientibus mortuos suos.' This is certainly a very ingenious conjecture, as it is much more intelligible, when we say, 'Leave the dead to those, whose office it is to bury the dead,' than when we say, 'Leave the dead to bury the dead,' which, after all the pains, which commentators have bestowed on it, still remains, as Wetstein says, *sententia paradoxa*. Now admitting that this conjecture, which Eichhorn (Allg. Bib. Vol. V. p. 970.) has likewise adopted, be true, the question to be asked in our present inquiry is this: Is it probable that two independent translators should deviate from the meaning of their original, not only in the same place, but precisely in the same manner? If the passage occurred either in St. Matthew alone, or in St. Luke alone, one might conjecture, that the Greek text was originally *αφες τας νεκρας θαψαι τας αυτων νεκρας*, and that through an oversight of transcribers the *σ* in *θαψαι* was omitted, and the participle thus converted into the infinite *θαψαι*. But that the same oversight should have happened in both places is not probable.

S E C T. IV.

Parable of the plenteous harvest and the few labourers.

Matth. ix. 37, 38.

Ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς, οἱ
δὲ ἐργαταὶ ὀλιγοί. Δεήθητε
ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ τῷ θερισμῷ, ὥστε
ἐκβαλῇ ἐργατὰς εἰς τὸν θε-
ρισμὸν αὐτῶν.

Luke x. 2.

Ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς, οἱ
δὲ ἐργαταὶ ὀλιγοί. Δεήθητε
ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ τῷ θερισμῷ, ὥστε
ἐκβαλῇ ἐργατὰς εἰς τὸν θε-
ρισμὸν αὐτῶν.

S E C T. V.

Christ's discourse on the message of John the Baptist.

Matth. xi. 2—19.

3. Σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ
ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν;

45. Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ
Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες
ἀπαγγεῖλατε Ἰωάννῃ ἃ ἀκούετε
καὶ βλέπετε. τυφλοὶ ἀναβλε-
πασί, καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατήσι,
λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται, καὶ κω-
φοὶ ἀκούσι, νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται,
καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται.

6. Καὶ μακάριος ἐστίν, ὅς
ἐάν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.

Luke vii. 19—35.

19. Σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ
ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν;

22. Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ
Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες
ἀπαγγεῖλατε Ἰωάννῃ ἃ εἰδὼς
καὶ ἠκούσας· ὅτι τυφλοὶ ἀνα-
βλεπασί, χωλοὶ περιπατήσι,
λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται, κω-
φοὶ ἀκούσι, νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται,
πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται.

23. Καὶ μακάριος ἐστίν, ὅς
ἐάν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.

SECT. IV.

Parable of the plenteous harvest and the few labourers.

REMARKS.

SECT. V.

Christ's discourse on the message of John the Baptist.

REMARKS.

Matth. xi. 2—19.

7. Τῶν δὲ πορευομένων
ἡρξάτο ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγειν
τοῖς ὄχλοις περὶ Ἰωάννου·
τί ἐξηλθέτε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον
θεασασθαι; καλαμὸν ὑπο
ἀνέμου σαλευόμενον;

8. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐξηλθέτε
ἰδεῖν; ἄνθρωπον ἐν μαλακοῖς
ἱματίοις ἡμφιεσμένον; ἰδὲ οἱ
τα μαλακά φορεῖτες ἐν τοῖς
οἰκοῖς τῶν βασιλείων
εἰσιν.

9. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐξηλθέτε
ἰδεῖν; προφήτην; καὶ λεγώ
ὑμῖν, καὶ περισσώτερον προ-
φήτην.

10. Οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶ, περὶ ᾧ
γεγραπται· ἰδὲ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω
τὸν ἀγγέλον μου πρὸ προσώπου
σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν
σου ἐμπροσθεν σου^b.

11. Ἀμήν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐκ
ἐγενήθη ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναι-
κῶν^c μείζων Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπ-
τίστου· ὁ δὲ μικρότερος
ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν
μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ.

12—15. An insertion,
not contained in St.
Luke's text.

Luke vii. 19—35.

24. Ἀπελθούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγ-
γέλων Ἰωάννου, ἡρξάτο λέγειν
πρὸς τοὺς ὄχλους περὶ Ἰωάννου·
τί ἐξεληλυθαίτε^a εἰς τὴν ἔρημον
θεασασθαι; καλαμὸν ὑπο
ἀνέμου σαλευόμενον;

25. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐξεληλυθαίτε
ἰδεῖν; ἄνθρωπον ἐν μαλακοῖς
ἱματίοις ἡμφιεσμένον; ἰδὲ οἱ
ἐν ἱματισμῷ ἐνδοξῷ καὶ τρυφῇ
ὑπαρχούτες ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις
εἰσιν.

26. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐξεληλυθαίτε
ἰδεῖν; προφήτην; καὶ λεγώ
ὑμῖν καὶ περισσώτερον προ-
φήτην.

27. Οὗτος ἐστὶ περὶ ᾧ
γεγραπται· ἰδὲ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω
τὸν ἀγγέλον μου πρὸ προσώπου
σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν
σου ἐμπροσθεν σου

28. Λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν,
μείζων ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν
προφήτης Ἰωάννης τοῦ βαπτί-
στου ἐστὶν· ὁ δὲ μικρότερος
ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.
μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ.

29, 30. An insertion,
not contained in St. Mat-
thew's text.

REMARKS.

* Throughout the whole of this section, where St. Matthew has *ἦλθε* and *ἦλθετε*, St. Luke has the Attic form *ἤλλυθι* and *ἤλλυθετε*.

^b In this quotation from Malachi iii. 1. the words used by St. Matthew and St. Luke are precisely the same: yet they materially differ from the words of the LXX. which are, *ἰδοὺ, ἐξαποστέλλω τὸν ἀγγέλου μου, καὶ ἐπιθεύσεται ὁδὸν πρὸς πρόσωπῳ μου*: and moreover these words of the LXX. are a close translation of the Hebrew text in this passage, *הִנְנִי שְׁלַח מַלְאָכִי וּפְנֵה־דָרֶךְ לִפְנֵי*. Further, the same quotation is made by St. Mark, though in a different place, viz. ch. i. 2. and in the very same words, which are here used by St. Matthew and St. Luke. Now would this close verbal agreement, under these circumstances, be possible, if the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke contained three independent translations of a Hebrew or Chaldee original?

^c The expression *γεννητοὶ γυναικῶν* used in this place both by St. Matthew and St. Luke occurs no where else in the whole New Testament.

Matth. xi. 2—19.

16, 17. Τινι δε ὁμοιωσω
την γενεαν ταυ-
την;

ὁμοια εἰσι παιδαριοις^d ἐν
αγοραῖς καθημενοῖς, καὶ προσ-
φωνεσι τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτῶν, καὶ
λεγεσιν· πύλησαμεν ὑμῖν, καὶ
ἐκ ὤρχησασθε· ἐθρηνησαμεν
ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐκ ἐκοψασθε^e.

18. Ἦλθε γὰρ Ἰωάννης,
μητε εσ-
θίων, μητε πινὼν, καὶ
λεγεσιν δαίμονιον ἐχει.

19. Ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς
τῆ ἀνθρώπου ἐσθίων καὶ πινὼν·
καὶ λεγεσιν ἰδὲ ἄνθρωπος φαγὸς
καὶ οἰνοπότης, τελωνῶν φίλος,
καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν· καὶ ἐδικαιώθη
ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς.

Luke vii. 19—35.

31, 32. Τινι ἐν ὁμοιωσω
τῆς ἀνθρώπου τῆς γενεας ταυ-
της; καὶ τινι εἰσιν ὁμοιοι;
ὁμοιοι εἰσι παιδίοις τοῖς ἐν
αγορᾷ καθημενοῖς καὶ προσ-
φωνεσιν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ
λεγεσιν. πύλησαμεν ὑμῖν, καὶ
ἐκ ὤρχησασθε· ἐθρηνησαμεν
ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐκ ἐκλαυσάτε.

33. Ἐληλυθε γὰρ Ἰωάννης
ὁ βαπτιστής, μητε ἀρτον ἐσ-
θίων, μητε οἶνον πινὼν, καὶ
λεγετε δαίμονιον ἐχει.

34, 35. Ἐληλυθεν ὁ υἱὸς
τῆ ἀνθρώπου ἐσθίων καὶ πινὼν·
καὶ λεγέτε ἰδὲ ἄνθρωπος φαγὸς
καὶ οἰνοπότης, τελωνῶν φίλος^f,
καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν· καὶ ἐδικαιώθη
ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς
πάντων.

REMARKS.

^d παῖδισις. G.

^e Ver. 16, 17, I produce here merely for the sake of connexion, and not as instances of verbal agreement.

^f φίλος τελωνων. G.

SECT. VI.

Woe denounced to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum.

Matth. xi. 20—30.

21. Ουαι σοι, Χοραζίν, και σοι, Βηθσαιδαν· ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τυρῷ και Σιδωνί ἐγενοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σακκῷ και σποδῷ μέλεινοσαν.

22. Πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· Τυρῷ και Σιδωνί ἀνεκτίστερον ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, ἢ ὑμῖν.

23. Καὶ συ Καπερναὺμ, ἥ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ὑψώθῃσθα, ἕως οὗ καὶ καταβιβασθῇ.

The remaining part of this verse, and ver. 24, are not contained in St. Luke's text.

25, 26. Ἐξομολογῆμαι σοι, πάτερ, κυριε τῆς ἡμέρας και τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπεκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν και συνέων, και ἀπεκαλύψας αὐτὰ νηπιοῖς· ναὶ, ὁ πάτερ, ὅτι ἔτως ἐγένετο εὐδοκία ἐμπροσθεν σου.

27. Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τῆς πατρὸς μου· και ἔδεις ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ πάτερ· ἐδε τον πάτερα τις ἐπιγινώσκει, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, και ὡς εἰαν βεβλήται ὁ υἱός ἀποκαλυφαι.

Luke x. 13—15. 21, 22.

13. Ουαι σοι, Χοραζίν, και σοι Βηθσαιδα· ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τυρῷ και Σιδωνί ἐγενοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σακκῷ και σποδῷ καθήμεναι μέλεινοσαν.

14. Πλὴν Τυρῷ και Σιδωνί ἀνεκτίστερον ἔσται ἐν τῇ κρίσει, ἢ ὑμῖν.

15. Καὶ συ Καπερναὺμ, ἥ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ὑψώθῃσθα, ἕως οὗ καὶ καταβιβασθῇ.

21. Ἐξομολογῆμαι σοι, πάτερ, κυριε τῆς ἡμέρας και τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπεκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν και συνέων, και ἀπεκαλύψας αὐτὰ νηπιοῖς· ναὶ, ὁ πάτερ, ὅτι ἔτως ἐγένετο εὐδοκία ἐμπροσθεν σου.

22. Πάντα παρεδόθη μοι ὑπὸ τῆς πατρὸς μου· και ἔδεις γινώσκει τις ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πάτερ· και τις ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, και ὡς εἰαν βεβλήται ὁ υἱός ἀποκαλυφαι.

S E C T. VI.

Woe denounced to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum.

REMARKS.

^a Βηθσαιδα. C. D. K. L. It is likewise thus written by Origen.

^b It is remarkable that St. Matthew and St. Luke here agree in using the nominative ὁ πατήρ as equivalent to the vocative πατήρ, though they have never done so on any other occasion, and though they had both used the vocative immediately before.

^c In the common editions is added at the end of this verse, καὶ σὺ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶπες: but Griesbach has very rightly rejected it.

^d μοι παρεδόθη. G.

^e From the preceding statement it appears that the *whole* of this section in St. Luke's text agrees, with a very few exceptions, word for word with that of Matthew.

Matth. xi. 20—30.

Luke x. 13—15. 21, 22.

28—30. To these two verses there is nothing, which corresponds in St. Luke's text.

S E C T. VII.

Additions peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke, in Christ's confutation of the opinion, that he cast out devils by Beelzebub.

Matth. xii. 27, 28. 30.

Luke xi. 19, 20. 23.

27. Καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελ-ζεβουλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμονία, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβαλλοῦσι; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ ὑμῶν ἐσονται κρίται;

28. Εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμονία, ἄρα ἐφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

30. Ὁ μὴ ὦν μετ' ἐμῶν, κατ' ἐμῶν ἐστὶ· καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμῶν, σκορπίζει.

19. Εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελ-ζεβουλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμονία, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβαλλοῦσι; διὰ τοῦτο κρίται ὑμῶν αὐτοὶ ἐσονται.

20. Εἰ δὲ ἐν δυνάμει Θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμονία, ἄρα ἐφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

23. Ὁ μὴ ὦν μετ' ἐμῶν, κατ' ἐμῶν ἐστὶ· καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμῶν, σκορπίζει.

S E C T. VII.

Additions peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke, in
Christ's confutation of the opinion, that he cast out
devils by Beelzebub.

REMARKS.

S E C T. VIII.

Christ's censure of certain persons, who required of him a sign.

Matth. xii. 38—45.

41. Ἄνδρες Νινευίται²
ἀνασησούλαι ἐν τῇ κρίσει μεία
τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης, καὶ καλᾶ-
κρινῶσιν αὐτήν· ὅτι μετενοήσαν
εἰς τὸ κηρυγμὰ Ἰωάν· καὶ ἰδὲ,
πλεῖον Ἰωάν ὥδε.

42. Βασιλίσσα νοῦτ ἐγερ-
θῆσέῃαι ἐν τῇ κρίσει μεία

τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης, καὶ
καλᾶκρινεῖ αὐτήν· ὅτι ἦλθεν ἐκ
τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, ἀκῶσαι
τὴν σοφίαν Σολομῶντος· καὶ
ἰδὲ πλεῖον Σολομῶντος ὥδε.

43, 44. Ὅταν δὲ τὸ ἀκα-
θάρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπο τῶ
ἀνθρώπου, διερχέῃαι δι' ἀνδρῶν
τοπῶν, ζήλῃ ἀναπαυσιν, καὶ
εἴ· εὕρισκει· τότε λέγει ἐπι-
στρεψῶ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου, ὅθεν
ἐξῆλθον· καὶ ἐλθὼν εὕρισκει
σχοлаζούλα, σεσαρῶμενον, καὶ
κεκοσμημένον.

45. Τότε πορευέῃαι, καὶ
παραλαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτῆς
ἑτέρα ἑτέρα πνευμαῖα πονη-
ρότερα ἑαυτῆς, καὶ εἰσελθούλα
κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γινέῃαι τὰ
εσχατὰ τῶ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνῃ
χείρονα τῶν πρώτων.

Luke xi. 24—32.

32. Ἄνδρες Νινευίται²
ἀνασησούλαι ἐν τῇ κρίσει μεία
τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης, καὶ καλᾶ-
κρινῶσιν αὐτήν· ὅτι μετενοήσαν
εἰς τὸ κηρυγμὰ Ἰωάν· καὶ ἰδὲ
πλεῖον Ἰωάν ὥδε.

31 Βασιλίσσα νοῦτ ἐγερ-
θῆσέῃαι ἐν τῇ κρίσει μεία τῶν
ἀνδρῶν τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ
καλᾶκρινεῖ αὐτῆς· ὅτι ἦλθεν ἐκ
τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς ἀκῶσαι
τὴν σοφίαν Σολομῶντος· καὶ
ἰδὲ πλεῖον Σολομῶντος ὥδε.

24, 25. Ὅταν τὸ ἀκα-
θάρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπο τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου, διερχέῃαι δι' ἀνδρῶν
τοπῶν, ζήλῃ ἀναπαυσιν, καὶ
μὴ εὕρισκον. λέγει ὑπο-
στρεψῶ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου, ὅθεν
ἐξῆλθον· καὶ ἐλθὼν εὕρισκει
σεσαρῶμενον, καὶ
κεκοσμημένον.

26. Τότε πορευέῃαι καὶ
παραλαμβάνει
ἑτέρα ἑτέρα πνευμαῖα πονη-
ρότερα ἑαυτῆς, καὶ εἰσελθούλα
κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γινέται τὰ
εσχατὰ τῶ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνῃ
χείρονα τῶν πρώτων.

S E C T. VIII.

Christ's centure of certain persons, who required of him a sign.

REMARKS.

* *Nivevitat* is the reading also of St. Luke's Gospel in the Codd. Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, Ephrem, Stephani 7, Des Camps, and fifty-eight other Greek MSS.

SECT. IX.

Parable of the leaven.

Matth. xiii. 33.

Ὅμοια ἐσὶν ἡ βασιλεία
τῶν οὐρανῶν ζυμῇ, ἣν λαβὼσα
γυνὴ ἐνεκρύψεν εἰς ἀλεύρε-
σάτα τρία, ἕως ἢ ἐζυμῶθι
ὅλον.

Luke xiii. 20, 21.

Ὅμοια ἐστὶ
ζυμῇ, ἣν λαβὼσα
γυνὴ ἐνεκρύψεν εἰς ἀλεύρε-
σάτα τρία, ἕως ἢ ἐζυμῶθι
ὅλον.

SECT. X.

Christ's lamentation over the fate of Jerusalem.

Matth. xxiii. 37—39.

Ἰερουσαλὴμ, Ἰερουσαλὴμ, ἡ
ἀποκτείνουσα τὰς προφῆτας,
καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τὰς ἀπεσταλ-
μένους πρὸς αὐτήν, πόσας
ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα
σε, ὃν τρόπον ἐπισυναγαγεῖ οὐκ
τὰ νοσσία ἐαυτῆς ὑποὺς τὰς
πτερύγας, καὶ ἐκθελῆσαι;
Ἰδὲ ἀφιεῖται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν
ἐρημῶς. λέγω γὰρ
ὑμῖν· οὐ μὴ με ἰδῇτε, ἕως ἃν
εἰπῇτε, εὐλογημένος ὁ
ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

Luke xiii. 34, 35.

Ἰερουσαλὴμ, Ἰερουσαλὴμ, ἡ
ἀποκτείνουσα τὰς προφῆτας,
καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τὰς ἀπεσταλ-
μένους πρὸς αὐτήν, πόσας
ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα
σε, ὃν τρόπον οὐκ
τὴν ἐαυτῆς νοσσίαν ὑποὺς τὰς
πτερύγας, καὶ ἐκθελῆσαι;
Ἰδὲ ἀφιεῖται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν
ἐρημῶς. ἀμὴν^c· δε λέγω
ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐ μὴ με ἰδῇτε ἕως ἃν
ῥῆξῃ ὅτε^d εἰπῇτε, εὐλογημένος
ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

S E C T. IX.

Parable of the leaven.

REMARKS.

* The nominative is not expressed here by St. Luke, because he had used it in the preceding sentence.

S E C T. X.

Christ's lamentation over the fate of Jerusalem.

REMARKS.

^a Τα ιαυτης ιουδα. A. D. K. M.

^b — ιερημος. G.

^c — αμην. G.

^d ηξη οτι. B. K. L. Syr. Copt. Arm.

SECT. XI.

Parable of the faithful and unfaithful servants.

Matth. xxiv. 45—51.

46. Μακάριος ὁ δαλος
εκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτῆς
εὕρησκει ποιεῖν τὰς ἐντολὰς.

47. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι
ἐπὶ πάνσι τοῖς ὑπαρχουσιν αὐτῆς
καταστήσεται αὐτὸν.

48. Ἐὰν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ κακὸς
δαλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
αὐτῆς· χρονίζει ὁ κύριος μὲν,
κ.τ.λ.

50. Ἐξέειπεν ὁ κύριος τὰς παραβολὰς
ἐκείνας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν ἔπαυσα, καὶ
ἐν ὥρᾳ ἣν οὐκ ἐγινώσκουσιν, καὶ
διχοτόμησεν αὐτὸν.

Luke xii. 42—48.

43. Μακάριος ὁ δαλος
εκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτῆς
εὕρησκει ποιεῖν τὰς ἐντολὰς.

44. Ἀληθῶς λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι
ἐπὶ πάνσι τοῖς ὑπαρχουσιν αὐτῆς
καταστήσεται αὐτὸν.

45. Ἐὰν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ
δαλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
αὐτῆς· χρονίζει ὁ κύριος μὲν,
κ.τ.λ.

46. Ἐξέειπεν ὁ κύριος τὰς παραβολὰς
ἐκείνας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν ἔπαυσα, καὶ
ἐν ὥρᾳ, ἣν οὐκ ἐγινώσκουσιν, καὶ
διχοτόμησεν αὐτὸν.

S E C T. XI.

Parable of the faithful and unfaithful servants.

REMARKS.

^a Instead of *ἢ ἢ προσδοκᾷ*, and *ἢ ἢ γινώσκει*, both St. Matthew and St. Luke agree in the same place in using *ἢ ἢ προσδοκᾷ*, and *ἢ ἢ γινώσκει*, according to the rule, which grammarians call attraction. This is the only verse throughout the whole Gospel of St. Matthew, in which this construction is found, and therefore St. Matthew's agreement with St. Luke in this verse is the more remarkable.

S E C T. XII.

Parable of a prince, who travelled into a distant country.

Matth. xxv. 14—30. | Luke xix. 11—28. |

Throughout the whole of this long section there is not a single instance of verbal agreement, except in a *part* of one verse, Matth. xxv. 29. Luke xix. 26^a.

S E C T. XII.

Parable of a prince, who travelled into a distant country.

REMARKS.

^a In the portion Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. there are likewise several sections, which St. Matthew has in detached parts of his Gospel, but in very different words. For instance,

Luke xi. 39—52.	Matth. xxiii. 4—7. 23—36.
xii. 1—9.	x. 26—33.
xiv. 16—24.	xxii. 1—14.
xv. 3—7.	xviii. 12—14.

RESULT

OF THE

PRECEDING STATEMENT.

THE preceding statement of parallel and coincident passages from the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, exhibits many very remarkable phænomena, which will be found of considerable use in determining the origin and composition of our three first Gospels. But before I point them out, I will propose, partly for the sake of perspicuity, partly for the sake of brevity, the following notation, which may be adopted in the description of these phænomena.

Let \aleph denote all those parts of the XLII. general sections, which are contained in all three Evangelists^a.

Let

^a Though each of the XLII. general sections contains a principal transaction, which is recorded in all three Gospels, yet as certain circumstances attending the same transaction are sometimes noted by St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not by St. Luke, at other times by St. Mark and St. Luke, but not by St. Matthew, at other times again by St. Matthew and St. Luke, but not by St. Mark, it is necessary to distinguish those parts of the XLII. general sections, which are common to all three Gospels, from the additions, which are found in only two.—With the additions, which each Evangelist has peculiar to himself, we are at present not concerned, because our inquiry now relates only to a comparison of the passages, which are found in more than one Gospel. Of the parts, which are peculiar to each Gospel notice will be taken hereafter, when the phænomena, not in the verbal agreement, but in the contents of the Gospels, come under consideration.

Let α denote the additions made to \aleph in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not in that of St. Luke.

β the additions made to \aleph in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but not in that of St. Matthew.

γ the additions made to \aleph in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, but not in that of St. Mark.

In the preceding Table of parallel passages, \aleph , with the additions α , β , γ , belong to the First Division.

A whole sections found in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not in that of St. Luke. These belong to the Second Division.

B whole sections found in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but not in that of St. Matthew. These belong to the Third Division.

Γ whole sections found in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, but not in that of St. Mark. These belong to the Fourth Division.

St. Matthew's Gospel then contains	$\aleph + \alpha + \gamma + A + \Gamma$
St. Mark's Gospel - -	$\aleph + \alpha + \beta + A + B$
St. Luke's Gospel - -	$\aleph + \beta + \gamma + B + \Gamma$

beside those parts
which each Evan-
gelist has peculiar
to himself.

This notation being adopted, I will now point out the several remarkable phænomena in the verbal agreement and disagreement of our three first Gospels, and arrange them in the order of the four divisions above stated.

FIRST DIVISION: CONTAINING \aleph , WITH THE
ADDITIONS α , β , γ .

I. In \aleph :

- a). We meet with several examples in which all three Gospels verbally coincide: but these examples are not very numerous, and contain in general only one or two, or at the outside three sentences together.
- b). The examples of verbal agreement in \aleph between St. Matthew and St. Mark are very numerous, and several of them are very long and remarkable, especially in Sect. XIV. XXXV. XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX.
- c). On the other hand, not one of those sections, which in St. Matthew's Gospel occupy different places from those, which they occupy in St. Mark's Gospel, exhibits a single instance of verbal agreement between St. Matthew and St. Mark. Thus beside Sect. V. and XI. there are not less than five successive sections, namely, XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX^b. throughout which there is not a verbal agreement in any one sentence, though Sect. XIV. affords a very long example of close verbal coincidence, and Sect. XX. likewise affords examples. This phenomenon will be more fully explained in Ch. 16.

d).

^b The five sections XV—XIX. include that portion of St. Mark's Gospel, which begins with ch. iv. 15. and ends with ch. vi. 29. and contains 78 verses, which is the largest interruption in St. Mark's verbal agreement with St. Matthew throughout the whole of St. Mark's Gospel: for every other chapter besides ch. v. has one or more instances of verbal agreement with St. Matthew, as may be seen on turning to the First and Second Divisions, in the Table of parallel and coincident passages.

- d). But in no instance throughout \aleph does St. Mark fail to agree verbally with St. Matthew, where St. Luke agrees verbally with St. Matthew.
 - e). There are frequent instances of verbal agreement in \aleph between St. Mark and St. Luke: though they are neither so numerous nor so long, as those between St. Matthew and St. Mark.
 - f). Upon the whole, the examples of verbal disagreement between St. Mark and St. Luke are much more numerous than the examples of agreement: yet throughout all \aleph St. Mark never fails to agree verbally with St. Luke, where St. Matthew agrees verbally with St. Luke.
 - g). In several sections, St. Mark's text agrees in one place with that of St. Matthew, in another place with that of St. Luke, and therefore appears at first sight to be a compound of both.
 - h). There is not a single instance of verbal coincidence between St. Matthew and St. Luke only, throughout all \aleph : for throughout all \aleph they invariably relate the same thing in different words, except in the passages, where both of them agree at the same time with St. Mark.
 - i). Consequently in no part of \aleph does St. Matthew's Greek text agree partly with that of St. Mark, and partly with that of St. Luke, nor St. Luke's text partly with that of St. Matthew, and partly with that of St. Mark, as was just observed of St. Mark's text.
2. In α St. Matthew and St. Mark agree verbally in several instances, as may be seen on turning to Sect. I. XIV. XXI. XXXV. XXXVIII. XLI. XLII. On the other hand,

hand, in the longest and the most remarkable of all the additions α (Matth. xiv. 3—12. Mark vi. 17—29.) they relate the same thing throughout in totally different words.

3. In β I have discovered only one instance of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, and that a very short one, namely, Mark x. 15. Luke xviii. 17. in Sect. XXVI. This is the more remarkable as the additions β are very numerous^c.
4. In γ the relation which St. Matthew's Gospel bears to that of St. Luke, is very different from that, which the two Gospels bear to each other in \aleph : for in γ there are instances of very remarkable verbal coincidence. See Sect. I. III. XXXI.

^c For instance, Mark i. 45.	Luke vi. 15, 16.
ii. 4.	v. 19.
iii. 3.	vi. 8.
v. 3—6.	viii. 27, 28.
8—10.	29—31.
15, 16.	34—36.
26.	43.
29—33.	44—47.
35, 36.	49, 50.
42, 43.	55, 56.
vi. 15, 16.	8, 9.
30, 31.	10.

All these (and the rest are of the same kind) are examples of additions to \aleph in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, in which the same things are related in totally different words.

SECOND DIVISION: CONTAINING A.

In A, the relation, which St. Matthew's Gospel bears to that of St. Mark, in respect to verbal agreement, continues the same, as it was in \aleph and α , as may be seen on turning to the examples quoted in this division.

THIRD DIVISION: CONTAINING B.

In B, the relation, which St. Mark and St. Luke bear to each other is very different from that, which they bear to each other in \aleph , and is similar to that, which they bear to each other in β . For among the sections peculiar to St. Mark and St. Luke, these two Evangelists agree verbally in no other place, than a single passage of the first section: and even there, in all that precedes and follows that passage, St. Mark and St. Luke relate the same thing in very different words⁴.

FOURTH DIVISION: CONTAINING Γ .

In Γ , the relation, which the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke bear to each other, is the very reverse of that, which they bear to each other in \aleph , and is similar to that, which they bear in γ , as may be seen on turning to the examples quoted in the Fourth Division.

These facts being admitted, we have a certain criterion, by which we may judge of every hypothesis on the origin of our three first Gospels; for it is obvious that

⁴ This whole section is particularly analysed in Eichhorn's *Allgem. Bibl.* Vol. V. p. 257—960.

that whatever supposition be the true one, it must account for all these phænomena, and that a supposition, if it does not account for these phænomena, cannot be the true one.

CHAP. VIII.

THE SUPPOSITION, THAT THE SUCCEEDING EVANGELISTS COPIED FROM THE PRECEDING, TRIED BY THE PHÆNOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

LET us apply this criterion in the first place to the supposition, which many years ago was very generally received, 'that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding.'

Lardner, Eichhorn, Halfeld, and Ruffwurm, in the works, which have been quoted above, have produced very cogent, and, as far as I can judge, unanswerable arguments to prove, that the succeeding Evangelists, in whatever order they may be supposed to have written, had no knowledge of the writings of the preceding. Though it is unnecessary to repeat what has been written by others, and is likewise generally known, it may be observed that all their arguments are reducible to this principle, that if one Evangelist had used the Gospel of the other, the *contents* of his own Gospel would in many places have been very different from what they really are; namely, that apparent contradictions would have been avoided, and that remarkable facts, circumstances, determinations of time, &c. observable in the one, would not have been omitted in the other. But since the supposition, that one Evangelist copied from another, has been adopted by so many critics, in consequence of the verbal harmony of the Evangelists, it cannot be tried by a fairer test, than the

the phænomena in that very harmony, which it is assumed to explain. For if these are such, as cannot be explained by it, the chief reason for our adoption of it ceases to exist: and if they are likewise incompatible with it, we must conclude that the supposition is false.

In the first place therefore we will try that particular supposition, which among all the hypotheses of this kind has been the best defended, that St. Mark made use of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke in the composition of his own Gospel. On this supposition, wherever St. Mark and St. Luke relate the same thing in the same words, St. Mark retained both the matter and the words which had been used by St. Luke: but wherever St. Mark and St. Luke relate the same thing in different words, St. Mark, though he retained the matter, did not retain the words, which had been used by St. Luke, but substituted others in their stead. Now since St. Luke's Greek style is certainly preferable to that of St. Mark, no reason can be assigned, why St. Mark, if he sometimes retained the words of St. Luke, should at other times reject them, and use merely synonymous expressions, by which the narrative was not rendered more accurate and perspicuous than it was before. It could not have been St. Mark's intention to keep his readers in the dark in respect to the Gospel or Gospels, which he used in the composition of his own, for if he had, he would have retained in no instance the words of St. Luke. But if this was not his intention, he could not have proposed the least benefit to himself, any more than to his readers, by an alteration of St. Luke's words: and it is not reasonable to suppose, that any man would voluntarily submit to a labour, from which he knew, that neither he himself nor any one else could derive the least advantage. However I will not insist on this argument, since it shews nothing more than the improbability that St. Mark made use of St. Luke's Gospel: for one writer *may* copy from another, and sometimes copy verbally, at other times not, even though we can assign no reason for his so doing.

But the following phænomenon presents obstacles to the supposition, which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to surmount: namely, that the examples of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke are so confined to \aleph , that only one short instance is to be found among the numerous additions β , and only one among the sections B, which is likewise confined to a single sentence*. If then we attempt to explain the examples of verbal agreement, in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, on the supposition that in those instances St. Mark copied verbally from St. Luke, and the examples, in which they relate the same thing in different words, on the supposition that in those instances St. Mark retained the matter but rejected the words of St. Luke, we must necessarily suppose that St. Mark was able to distinguish the additions β , and the sections B, in St. Luke's Gospel, from \aleph , and that he purposely avoided verbal transcription in β and B, though he frequently transcribed verbally in \aleph : for the additions β and B, as well as the examples of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke in \aleph , are too numerous to admit the supposition that mere accident could have produced the effect in question. But β , B, and \aleph are so interwoven with each other, as well in the Gospel of St. Luke, as in the Gospel of St. Mark, that no one, who reads their Gospels singly can possibly distinguish them: for they are portions, which we have separated from each other by no other process, than by a collation of St. Luke's Gospel, not only with that of St. Matthew, but likewise with that of St. Mark. How then, it may be asked, could St. Mark, before his own Gospel existed, have made such an analysis? It must be granted however that there was one method, and one method only, by which, from a comparison of the Gospels only of St. Matthew and St. Luke, he might have made such distinctions, as might afterwards have led him to the distinctions in question. Before St. Mark had written his

* The cause of each of these single exceptions will be assigned hereafter.

his Gospel, β and B were a part of the matter, which was peculiar to the Gospel of St. Luke^f: and if St. Mark derived the materials of his own Gospel, according to the present supposition, partly from that of St. Matthew, partly from that of St. Luke, the insertions β , and the entire sections B were those particular passages, which St. Mark selected out of the matter, which was peculiar to St. Luke's Gospel. If then St. Mark really made such an accurate collation of St. Luke's Gospel with that of St. Matthew, as enabled him to note in the former not only all the larger portions, which were peculiar to St. Luke, but likewise each single sentence, which St. Luke had more than St. Matthew in the portions common to both, he had it in his power to distinguish them from the other matter, which he copied from St. Luke's Gospel, so as to be enabled to avoid, if he chose it, literal transcription in β and B. But that St. Mark made such an accurate collation, as would have been necessary to answer this purpose is not very credible. Besides, if it be admitted that St. Mark had made such a collation, and that he had noted in his copy of St. Luke's Gospel all the passages, which were not in St. Matthew's Gospel, in the number of which passages β and B were included, it is inconceivable that St. Mark, who frequently agrees word for word with St. Luke in α , where St. Matthew likewise has the same matter but in different words, should make it a rule, whenever he came to any one of the additions β and B, where St. Matthew deserted him, and he could only derive assistance from St. Luke, to reject the words of St. Luke, and to relate the same thing in different words^g. If St. Mark,

^f Namely among our three first *canonical* Gospels, with which alone we are at present concerned.

^g See for instance Sect. VI. VII. X. of the First Division. Each of these sections exhibits examples of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke in α , and of verbal disagreement in β . The latter are Mark i. 45. Luke v. 15, 16.—Mark ii. 4. Luke v. 19.—Mark iii. 3. Luke vi. 8. If St. Mark copied any where from St. Luke, he certainly copied from him in these three sections: and according to

Mark, instead of differing in words from St. Luke in β and B, had generally agreed with him, the supposition, that he copied partly from St. Matthew and partly from St. Luke, might account for it, because it might be reasonably supposed, that, where St. Mark could derive no assistance from St. Matthew, he would adhere the more closely to St. Luke. But for this very reason, the supposition cannot possibly account for the phenomenon, that in the numerous examples, in which St. Mark has matter in common with St. Luke only, the same matter is delivered in very different words. The examples of verbal agreement therefore between St. Mark and St. Luke, as well as the examples of disagreement must be ascribed to some other cause: for they are effects, which the cause in question would not have produced.

If instead of supposing, that St. Mark copied from St. Luke, we suppose, as was formerly imagined, that St. Luke copied from St. Mark, we are exposed to the same difficulties as before: for the arguments on this subject, which have been applied to St. Mark, may be applied also to St. Luke by only exchanging the names.

Further, since neither St. Mark copied from St. Luke, nor St. Luke from St. Mark, St. Luke cannot have copied from St. Matthew, because St. Luke has in no instance a verbal agreement with St. Matthew throughout all \aleph , except where St. Mark likewise agrees verbally with St. Matthew: and this is an effect, which could not have been produced, if St. Luke had copied from St. Matthew, unless in conjunction with St. Matthew's Gospel either St. Luke had used St. Mark's, or St. Mark St. Luke's Gospel. For though it is possible, I will not say probable, that St. Luke, if he used the Gospels both of St. Matthew and of St. Mark, made it a rule, *never* to transcribe verbally from St. Matthew
in

Dr. Griesbach's scheme stated above in Ch. 3. the whole portion, Mark i. 40—iii. 6. in which Sect. VI. VII. X. are included, was taken by St. Mark from Luke v. 12—vi. 11. That in those three sections St. Mark verbally agrees with St. Luke in many passages of \aleph , but has a totally different text in β , though the same matter is common to both, must be owing to some cause not hitherto assigned.

in \aleph , except where St. Mark had done so, or that St. Mark, if he used the Gospels both of St. Matthew and of St. Luke, determined *always* to transcribe verbally from St. Matthew in \aleph , where St. Luke had done so, in either of which cases the effect in question would have been produced, yet if neither St. Mark made use of St. Luke's Gospel, nor St. Luke of St. Mark's Gospel, they had no clue, which could lead them to those particular passages, in which both of them coincide with St. Matthew. And no one can ascribe it to mere accident, that St. Luke, who in γ and Γ has so remarkable a coincidence with St. Matthew, should in no instance throughout all \aleph , if he had St. Matthew's Gospel lying before him, transcribe from St. Matthew, *except* where St. Mark had transcribed; or that St. Mark, who differs verbally from St. Matthew much more frequently, than he agrees with him, should in no instance neglect to transcribe verbally from St. Matthew, where St. Luke had verbally transcribed. But it has been shewn, that neither St. Mark copied from St. Luke, or St. Luke from St. Mark. Consequently, St. Luke cannot have copied from St. Matthew: for, if he had, the effect in question would not have been produced.

Again, since St. Mark did not use the Gospel of St. Luke, nor St. Luke the Gospels either of St. Mark or of St. Matthew, St. Mark likewise cannot have used the Gospel of St. Matthew, because he never fails to agree verbally with St. Matthew in \aleph , where St. Luke agrees verbally with St. Matthew. For if St. Mark had copied from the Gospel of St. Matthew, it would not have been in his power, in *every* instance to copy verbally, where St. Matthew had a verbal agreement with St. Luke, unless he had known what those instances were; and this knowledge could not have been obtained without a comparison of St. Matthew's Gospel with that of St. Luke, of which St. Mark made no use, as has been already shewn^h.

It

^h The arguments here used, relate only to the *Greek* Gospel of St. Matthew; and shew, that if St. Matthew wrote in Greek, his Gospel

It appears, then, that St. Mark cannot have copied either from St. Matthew or from St. Luke, and that St. Luke cannot have copied either from St. Matthew or from St. Mark. The only remaining supposition therefore is, that St. Matthew copied from St. Mark and from St. Luke. To this supposition (which, however, leaves the examples of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke unexplained, and is therefore insufficient for our present purpose¹) the phænomena hitherto mentioned in this section present no obstacles. But there is another phænomenon in the verbal agreement and disagreement between St. Matthew and St. Mark, which though not absolutely incompatible with the supposition, that St. Matthew made use of St. Mark's Gospel, is not very easy to be reconciled with it, and at any rate cannot be explained by it. This phænomenon is, that, though St. Matthew and St. Mark have in so many places a very close verbal agreement, not one of those

was not used at all either by St. Mark or by St. Luke, and that if he wrote in Hebrew, St. Mark and St. Luke made no use of the Greek translation. They do not, however, prove that, if St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, his *Hebrew* Gospel was not used either by St. Mark or by St. Luke. But the supposition, that St. Mark and St. Luke used only the *Hebrew* Gospel of St. Matthew, cannot possibly account for the very long and very remarkable instances of verbal agreement in their Gospels with the *Greek* Gospel of St. Matthew. The supposition, therefore, is useless, when the question relates to the *verbal* harmony of the Evangelists. It may be asked: does any other reason exist for the adoption of this supposition? Now if any such reason does exist, it can be only this: that the phænomena in the contents of our three first Gospels may be explained by it. But in whatever language we consider the first of our canonical Gospels, whether we consider it as Greek, or as Hebrew, the supposition that it was used by St. Mark or by St. Luke, though it may account for matter, which they have in common with St. Matthew, is so far from accounting for the phænomenon, that St. Matthew has so much important matter, which is wholly unnoticed by St. Mark and St. Luke, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the supposition with the phænomenon, which ought to be explained by it. Some other cause therefore must be sought: for the cause in question will not answer the purpose.

¹ That St. Matthew used the Gospels *both* of St. Mark and of St. Luke is likewise a supposition, which no one has ever made: and therefore it is almost unnecessary to confute it.

those sections, which in St. Mark's Gospel occupy different places from those which they occupy in St. Matthew's, exhibits a single instance of verbal agreement. Thus beside Sect. V. and XI. there are not less than five successive sections in St. Mark's Gospel, namely, Sect. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. throughout all of which there is not an instance of verbal agreement in any one sentence, though in Sect. XIV. which immediately precedes, and in Sect. XX. which immediately follows, we meet with examples of verbal agreement, especially in Sect. XIV. where there is a very remarkable one. The five sections, XV—XIX. include that portion of St. Mark's Gospel, which begins with ch. iv. 35. and ends with ch. vi. 29.: they contain 78 verses, and constitute by much the longest interruption in St. Mark's verbal agreement with St. Matthew, throughout the whole of St. Mark's Gospel; for every other chapter, besides ch. v. has one or more examples of verbal agreement with St. Matthew^k. If St. Matthew, then, made use of St. Mark's Gospel, and wrote in Greek as must be now supposed, for otherwise the hypothesis in question cannot explain the verbal agreement between the two Gospels, the circumstance, that throughout all those sections, to which St. Matthew assigned a different place in his own Gospel, from that which they occupied in St. Mark's, he has, in no instance, a verbal agreement with St. Mark, cannot well be ascribed to an accidental inattention to St. Mark's Gospel in those sections, or, in other words, to a neglect of it on the part of St. Matthew, without some determinate cause. It is true, that St. Mark, throughout the whole portion, ch. iv. 35—vi. 29. no more agrees verbally with St. Luke, than he does with St. Matthew: but this is not at all extraordinary, because neither St. Mark copied from St. Luke, nor St. Luke from St. Mark. And even if St. Mark had made use of St. Luke's Gospel, or St. Luke of St. Mark's Gospel, their want of verbal agreement in this portion could

^k See the Table of parallel and coincident passages: the First Division, and the Second Division.

could no more afford just matter of surprise, than their want of verbal agreement in other places: first, because there are other very long portions in St. Mark's Gospel, as ch. vi. 43—viii. 40. consisting of 81 verses, and ch. xiv. 25. to the end of St. Mark's Gospel, consisting of 114 verses, in which there is not a single instance of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, whereas no such long interruptions take place in St. Mark's verbal agreement with St. Matthew: secondly, because their want of verbal agreement extends much further than the portion, Mark iv. 35—vi. 29. for not only the preceding part of ch. iv. but likewise all that precedes in ch. iii. after ver. 5. affords no example of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, whereas the seven successive verses, Mark iv. 3—9. agree almost word for word with St. Matthew: thirdly, because St. Mark's arrangement in ch. iv. 35—vi. 29. is the same (as it is in general) with that of St. Luke, and therefore his want of verbal agreement with St. Luke in that portion, no more excites particular attention, or leads us to seek a particular cause of the interruption, than their want of verbal agreement in the two other long portions, ch. vi. 43—viii. 40. and ch. xiv. 25. to the end of St. Mark's Gospel, whereas the interruption of St. Mark's verbal agreement with St. Matthew throughout, ch. iv. 35—vi. 29. necessarily does lead us to seek a particular cause for it, not only because it includes five sections, which in St. Mark's Gospel have a different arrangement from that which they have in St. Matthew's, but because in the two remaining of these inverted sections, namely, Sect. V. and XI. there are likewise no examples of verbal agreement between St. Matthew and St. Mark. We must suppose then, either that St. Matthew *purposely* avoided literal transcription from St. Mark's Gospel in the sections, to which he assigned a different place in his own, or that he was impelled by some *necessity*. But we can assign no motive, which could have induced St. Matthew to reject purposely the words of St. Mark in these sections: for since he has the
greatest

greatest part of St. Mark's matter, though he has placed the several narratives in a different order, the new arrangement by no means rendered it necessary, that each narrative should be delivered in a new set of words. If St. Matthew had agreed verbally in any of these sections with St. Luke, it might have been supposed, that he deserted St. Mark, because he followed St. Luke: but not one of these sections exhibits a single instance of verbal agreement between St. Matthew and St. Luke, it being an invariable rule, that St. Matthew never agrees verbally with St. Luke throughout all \S , except where he agrees with St. Mark. Shall we conclude then that St. Matthew did not observe in what part of St. Mark's Gospel these sections were contained, since they occupied different places from those, which they occupy in his own, and that he thus abstained from the use of St. Mark's Gospel through necessity? Now if we had set out with the supposition that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, we might certainly take for granted that the Greek *translator* of it would have found difficulty in discovering in St. Mark's Gospel the sections, which occupied in it different places from those, which they occupied in St. Matthew's. But St. Matthew himself, the *author* of the Gospel, could not have met with any such difficulty, because before he had written his Gospel the difference in question did not exist, and it was entirely at St. Matthew's own option, whether he should retain or reject the arrangement, which he found in St. Mark.—Whoever therefore attempts to explain the verbal agreement and disagreement between the Greek text of St. Matthew and St. Mark, on the supposition that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, and that he sometimes copied verbally from St. Mark, but not at other times, will be exposed to difficulties, which it is impossible to remove.

But if we cannot suppose that St. Matthew copied from St. Mark, we cannot suppose that he copied from St. Luke, because throughout all \S he never agrees verbally with St. Luke, except where St. Mark agrees
verbally

verbally with St. Luke, and therefore, if he used St. Luke's Gospel at all, he could not have confined the verbal agreement to those particular passages, without the intervention of St. Mark's Gospel.

From what has been said in this section it appears, that we must ascribe the verbal harmony in our three first Gospels to some other cause than, 'that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding.'

C H A P. IX.

THE SUPPOSITION, THAT THE THREE FIRST EVANGELISTS MADE USE OF A COMMON GREEK DOCUMENT, TRIED BY THE PHENOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

IF we attempt to explain the verbal harmony, on the supposition, not that one Evangelist used the Gospel of the other, but that all three used in common the same *Greek* document or documents, we shall likewise expose ourselves to difficulties, which it is impossible to surmount. For this supposition, like the preceding, not only leaves the numerous examples unexplained, in which the same thing is related in different but synonymous expressions, but is incapable of accounting for the phenomena in the verbal harmony itself. For if St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke had transcribed from the same Greek document, it would have been absolutely impossible, that in the matter, common to all three, St. Matthew and St. Luke should agree in retaining the words of this document, in those passages only, where St. Mark had retained the words of it, or that St. Mark should neglect in no instance to retain the words of it, where St. Matthew and St. Luke had retained them¹.

These

¹ If it be supposed that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and we explain the verbal agreement between the Greek texts of St. Matthew and

These are phænomena which are irreconcilable with the supposition of a common *Greek* document. Besides, if the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels had been owing to this cause, the examples, in which all three Evangelists verbally coincide, must have been much more numerous, than they really are. Lastly, there are several other phænomena, which are inexplicable on this supposition: but what has been already said, is sufficient to shew, that it is inadmissible.

CHAPTER X.

THE HYPOTHESIS, THAT OUR THREE FIRST GOSPELS CONTAIN THREE GREEK TRANSLATIONS MADE INDEPENDENTLY OF EACH OTHER FROM THE SAME HEBREW ORIGINAL, TRIED BY THE PHÆNOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

SINCE the phænomena in the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels are explicable, neither on the supposition, that the succeeding Evangelists copied from the preceding, nor on the supposition, that all three made use of the same Greek document, it remains only that we try whether the hypothesis of a common *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* document will answer the purpose. This hypothesis may be represented in a great variety of forms, and therefore it will be necessary to try them all, for one of them may answer the purpose, though another does not.

The

and St. Mark, and St. Matthew and St. Luke, on the supposition that St. Matthew's translator used the same Greek document, as was used by St. Mark and St. Luke, the argument here used is equally applicable to St. Matthew's translator. For if the examples of verbal agreement between the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke were owing to the circumstance, that St. Matthew's translator as well as St. Luke retained the words of the Greek document in those places, it is incredible that he should in no instance have retained the words of that Greek document, where St. Luke had retained them, except where St. Mark likewise had retained them,

The form, which Eichhorn has adopted, is the following: '*our three first Gospels contain three Greek translations made from the same Hebrew original and independently of each other*^m.'

But this supposition is likewise incapable of explaining the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels: for in the first place, no two translators of the same original will agree for whole sentences together both in the choice and in the position of their words, and in such a manner as to produce the same text, unless their translations have some connexion with each other. Compare only Mark xiii. 13—32. in Sect. XXXV. with the parallel portion in St. Matthew's Gospel, and see whether it is possible for two independent translators to produce two such similar texts for twenty verses togetherⁿ. In these twenty verses the texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark might really pass for one and the same text, in which a multiplication of copies had produced a few trifling deviations: at least they do not differ more from each other, than each differs from itself in different manuscripts. Even where one author professedly copies from another, or two authors professedly copy from a third, how frequently does it happen, that an author's own copy contains deviations from the work of which he intends to give a literal transcript? A few trifling deviations therefore will no more prove, that the two texts were formed independently of each other, than the differences between Robert Stephen's quotations from his Codex β and Wetstein's quotations from his Codex D will prove that β and D denote two different manuscripts.

Whoever thinks it possible, that two texts so closely allied could have been formed independently of each other, or that they had two independent translations, will

^m In the Dissertation above quoted, p. 784.

ⁿ In St. Mark's text there is no interruption in the verbal coincidence, though there is in St. Matthew's, in those places where the latter has more than the former. For an instance of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, see Sect. XXVI. and for an instance of verbal agreement between St. Matthew and St. Luke, see the Fourth Division, Sect. V.

will be easily convinced of the contrary by only translating a page of a Greek or Latin author, of which he had seen no translation, and then comparing his own translation with a translation already made. Even when one translator is well acquainted with the translation of his predecessor, their translations will not coincide for many sentences together, unless the one, instead of translating for himself, copies merely from the other. I will instance only Dr. Doddridge and Dr. Campbell, and compare their translations of Luke i. 1. with each other, and with our common version.

COMMON VERSION.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand, to set forth in order a declaration of those things, which are most surely believed among us.

DODDRIDGE'S VERSION.

Whereas many have undertaken to compose the history of those facts, which have been confirmed among us.

CAMPBELL'S VERSION.

Forasmuch as many have undertaken to compose a narrative of those things which have been accomplished among us.

Instances may likewise be produced from one and the same version, in which the same Greek text is differently rendered in different places. Thus, Christ's censure of the Pharisees, which is related by St. Mark, ch. xii. 38—40. and by St. Luke, ch. xx. 45—47. in almost the same words, appears in our common English version, under a very different form in St. Luke's Gospel, from that under which it appears in St. Mark's.

Greek

Greek expressions used both by St. Mark and by St. Luke.	Translations of them in St. Mark's Gospel.	Translations of them in St. Luke's Gospel.
των θελοντων περιπατειν εν στολας, ασπασμους ενταις αγοραις, και περὶ οκαθιδιαιας, και περὶ οκλισιαιας.	which love to go in long clothing, salutations in the market places, and the chief seats, and the uppermost rooms.	which desire to walk in long robes, greetings in the markets, and the highest seats; and the chief rooms.

In the compass of one short sentence we have here not less than seven easy Greek expressions, all of which are differently rendered in two places of the same version. Is it credible then, if our three first Gospels contained three independent translations of the same original, that they would resemble each other in the manner, in which they do? The numerous and long examples of verbal coincidence, which have been produced in the preceding Table, are surely proofs of the contrary. In translating from Hebrew into Greek there is still less probability of agreeing by mere accident, than in translating from Greek into English, because the Greek language admits of much greater variety both in the choice and in the position of the words, than the English language*. If then English translations of the same original can differ so much from each other, we must not expect uniformity in Greek translations of the same original, unless those translations have some connexion with each other. And it is least of all to be expected, when the translators themselves

* If it shall be objected that Hellenistic Greek, as it is called, does not admit of the same variety as classic Greek, we need only compare the Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible, made by the seventy, by Aquila, and by Symmachus. Thus in Gen. i. בראשית ברא rendered in the LXX. εν αρχη εποιοησε, by Aquila εν κεφαλαιω εκλισει, by Symmachus εν αρχη εκλ.σε,—והו ובחור is rendered in the LXX αορατο: και ακατασκευαστος:, by Aquila κενωμα και εμειν, by Symmachus αργον και αδιακρητον. And this variation of expression is visible in every chapter of these Greek translations, as may be seen on consulting Origen's Hexapla.

themselves have not an uniformity of character, when the one prefers a free and paraphrastical, the other close and literal translation. Wherever *such* translators agree word for word, for many sentences together, some cause must have operated, which did not operate, where they have different texts.

Further, the difficulty attending the supposition that our three first Gospels contain independent translations is increased by the circumstance, that they frequently agree in the same place in the choice of the same unusual expression, which they themselves have never used on any other occasion. I quote no examples at present, because those, which occur in the parallel passages above-stated, have been already particularly noted.

But we will suppose, that it was possible for independent translators, and for translators of a very different description, to agree verbally in such numerous and long examples, as are found in the above-stated sections. The question then to be asked will be: What is the reason that the Evangelists do not agree more frequently? What is the reason that one section exhibits examples of very close agreement, and that the very next section exhibits no example of agreement whatever? How comes it to pass that, though there is so remarkable a coincidence between the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke in the portions, which are peculiar to these two Evangelists, they never coincide in the narrative, which runs through all three Evangelists, except in the places, where both agree at the same time with St. Mark? How comes it to pass that, though St. Mark and St. Luke frequently coincide in the narrative, which runs through all three Evangelists, this coincidence ceases in the passages which are common only to those two? And on the other hand how comes it to pass that in the sections common to all three, St. Matthew and St. Mark have so remarkable a verbal coincidence in numerous and long examples, where St. Luke relates the same thing in very different words? What can be the reason that St. Matthew and St. Mark, though they
have

have in so many other places a very remarkable verbal agreement, never agree in a single sentence, throughout all those sections, which occupy in St. Matthew's Gospel a different place, from that, which they occupy in St. Mark's? And what can be the reason, that throughout all & St. Mark never fails to agree verbally with St. Luke, where St. Luke agrees verbally with St. Matthew, though upon the whole the examples of verbal disagreement between St. Mark and St. Luke are much more numerous, than the examples of agreement? These are phænomena which cannot be solved on the supposition of independent translations, even if it be granted, that the examples of coincidence, when considered apart from the examples of disagreement, *might* have been effected without any connexion between the translations. If in one set of sections, as in the sections common to St. Matthew and St. Luke, or in the sections, which St. Matthew and St. Mark have in the same order, two translators had the ability to produce translations, which in numerous and long examples verbally coincided, though there was no connexion between their translations, it is inconceivable that this ability should have ceased, as soon as they came to another set of sections: and if the same independence prevailed throughout, it is incredible that the effects should have been so very different. Further, the phænomena above-mentioned are not only inexplicable on the supposition of independent translations, but are absolutely incompatible with the supposition. That phænomenon in particular, that St. Mark, who upon the whole differs verbally from St. Luke much more frequently than he agrees with him, fails in no instance throughout all & to agree verbally with St. Luke, where St. Luke agrees verbally with St. Matthew, is an effect, which could not possibly have been produced, if all three Gospels had been translations made independently of each other. Again, if the Greek translations exhibited in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke had been made independently of each other, it would not have been in the power of St. Luke, who
has

has so remarkable a verbal agreement with St. Matthew in the sections Γ, to have avoided all verbal agreement with St. Matthew throughout the whole of Σ, except in the places, where St. Mark likewise agreed with St. Matthew. Some connexion therefore, whatever it was, must have taken place, beside that, which the Evangelists mutually derived from their common Hebrew original.

It is true, that if an original is easy in one place and difficult in another, translators, who have no knowledge of each other's writings, will in general approach nearer to each other in places of the former, than in those of the latter description[†]. But this principle is wholly inadequate to the explanation of the phænomena just mentioned. For if in the numerous places, where the Greek text of St. Matthew and St. Mark agree, we say that the original was easy, we shall be at a loss for the reason why St. Luke's text in most of those places is so very different: and on the other hand, if in the places, where the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke are different, we say that the original was difficult, the agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke in so many of those places remains unexplained. This principle therefore, whatever latitude be given to it, cannot possibly explain all the phænomena: and in fact the phænomena are of such a kind, that an application of it in the present case will involve us in contradictions. For if the agreement between the texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark warrants the supposition, that the original was easy, the disagreement between St. Matthew and St. Luke in the very same places will warrant the supposition that the original was difficult. We may safely infer therefore that, if our three first Gospels contained three translations made independently of each other, whether by the Evangelists themselves, or by any other persons, whose translations the Evangelists adopted,

[†] This is the reason assigned by Eichhorn (*Allgem. Bibl.* Vol. V. p. 784) why our Evangelists sometimes agree in words, at other times differ.

adopted², they could not have verbally agreed in the manner, in which they do, and likewise have verbally disagreed in the manner in which they do.

Perhaps in order to invalidate the inference, which has been deduced from the examples of verbal harmony, it will be objected, that such harmony may be the result of later alterations made by transcribers of the Gospels³, and therefore that whoever founds a system on them builds on a very precarious foundation. Now I readily grant, that transcribers have in various places altered and interpolated one Gospel from another. But then as far as we can trace such alterations in the manuscripts, which are now extant, we find them indiscriminately made in all three Gospels, and we perceive that transcribers were as prone to make alterations in one Gospel, as they were in another, and in any one part of a Gospel, as they were in another part of it. We may conclude the same therefore of those transcribers, who copied the Gospels in the second and third centuries. Further, the attempts of transcribers to produce harmony between the Evangelists have consisted rather in the making of insertions, where one text was shorter than another, than in the alteration of words and phrases already used: and their object was not so much to make the Evangelists say the *same thing* in the *same words*, as to make the one say *as much* as the other. Thus in the Lord's Prayer which in St. Luke's genuine text, ch. xi. 2—4. was delivered more concisely than it was by St. Matthew, ch. v. 9—13. they interpolated in St. Luke's text, ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν—γεννηθῆτω τὸ θέλημα σου, ὡς ἐν ἑβραῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,—and ἀλλὰ ρυσαὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν, from St. Matthew's Gospel. Yet, notwithstanding this excessive interpolation for so short a passage, an interpolation found in *most* of the Greek MSS. now extant, the words

² Eichhorn (A. B. Vol. V. p. 784) leaves this undetermined.

³ Semler in his Remarks annexed to the German translation of Townson's Discourses on the four Gospels, Vol. I. p. 222. 223. has recourse to this conjecture.

words which St. Luke had actually used, as διδὲς ἡμῖν το καθ' ἡμέραν, — τὰς ἀμαρτίας — καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ — πάντι οφειλοῦσι ἡμῖν, where St. Matthew's Greek text is δὸς ἡμῖν σημερον — τὰ οφειλημένα — ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς — τοῖς ὀφειλείαις ἡμῶν, have been altered in *very few* Greek MSS. and all of these words have been altered in only *one*. But admitting that the early transcribers, had formed the resolution of producing a verbal harmony, and moreover that they were inclined to make alterations in one Gospel, rather than in another, and in one part of a Gospel, rather than in another part of it, we cannot suppose that they had the *power* to make alterations in all those places, and in those places only, where we find a verbal harmony. For this power would imply, what no one can easily believe, that they had made an analysis of the Gospels into \aleph , α , β , &c. similar to that which has been above-stated: since without such an analysis, they could not have known how to confine their alterations to the places of that particular description, which I have noted above. And that they had both the power and the inclination to make in \aleph numerous and long alterations in St. Matthew or St. Mark, to make many in γ and Γ in St. Matthew or St. Luke, yet on the other hand to harmonize St. Matthew and St. Luke in only a few places throughout all \aleph , to select likewise those places precisely from the number of those in which they had harmonized St. Matthew and St. Mark, in no other part of \aleph whatever to alter St. Luke from St. Matthew, or St. Matthew from St. Luke, or to neglect in no instance to alter St. Matthew or St. Mark, where they had made St. Luke harmonize with St. Mark or St. Matthew, to make material alterations in α and γ , but to let the numerous additions β pass without any alteration, except in one short sentence, is surely incredible. Though it must be granted therefore, that in various detached passages the verbal harmony of the Evangelists has been occasioned by the alterations of transcribers, yet *upon the whole* the verbal agreement and disagreement is of

such a particular description, that the chief cause of it must have existed antecedent to the Gospels themselves.

That in our three first Gospels the same thing is related in different words more frequently than in the same words, does not at all affect the position, that they do not contain three translations made independently of each other. For there is no inconsistency in supposing, that two translations of the same original should very frequently differ from each other, even though the one made use of the translation of the other, or both of them used in common some more ancient translation. In fact it may be reasonably expected, that such translators, unless we degrade them every where to mere transcribers, should sometimes exhibit the same at other times different translations, according as they wrote, either with, or without foreign aid^f. The assertion therefore that our three first Gospels do not contain three translations made independently of each other is perfectly consistent with the examples of disagreement, as well as with the examples of agreement: whereas the contrary opinion, as I have already shewn, is not consistent with both.

C H A P. XI.

OF THE VARIOUS FORMS, UNDER WHICH THE GENERAL SUPPOSITION OF A COMMON HEBREW DOCUMENT MAY BE REPRESENTED: WITH A GENERAL NOTATION COMPRISING ALL POSSIBLE FORMS.

AS the supposition, 'that our three first Gospels contain three independent translations of the same Hebrew original,' is only one out of the many forms,

^f The passages therefore which critics have quoted as examples of independent translation (See Eichhorn Allg. Bib. Vol. V. p. 832—848, &c.) prove only that, if our three first Gospels contain translations of a common Hebrew original, the translations *in those places* were made without any connexion with each other. But we must not convert this partial inference into a general one.

forms, under which the general hypothesis, 'that a common original was the basis of our three first Gospels,' may be presented, the hypothesis may be admissible in one form, though not in another. Let us see then whether some form may not be discovered, in which the hypothesis will account for all the phenomena observable in our three first Gospels.

The leading features, which must always remain to the hypothesis, whatever shape it assumes in other respects, are the following.

1. Before any of our canonical Greek Gospels existed, a narrative of Christ's transactions from his baptism to his death had been written in Hebrew^g: and this Hebrew document contained the matter, which is common to all three Evangelists.

2. In various transcripts of this Hebrew document various additions were made to the original text, consisting partly in the notice of additional circumstances relative to transactions already recorded, and partly in the insertion of whole sections descriptive of transactions, which had been left wholly unnoticed.

3. Three separate copies of this Hebrew document, each differently modified and enriched, formed the respective bases^h of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke.

If

^g By the term 'Hebrew,' is here meant not precisely the language of the Old Testament, but the language spoken in Jerusalem in the time of the Apostles, which the ancient fathers call Hebrew, though in fact it was Chaldee with an intermixture of old Hebrew words.

^h I purposely use here a very general term, in order that it may include all possible modifications of this hypothesis: and I avoid the expression 'copies of the Hebrew document used by the Evangelist,' because some writers, who doubt the hypothesis, suppose that the Evangelists did not use any copy of the Hebrew document, and that they had only Greek translations of it. Eichhorn's whole analysis of our three first Gospels is likewise conducted on the most general plan, and he expressly declares (*Allg. Bib.* Vol. V. p. 784.) that he leaves the question undecided, whether our three first Evangelists made use of the Hebrew document, or whether they had only translations of it. Consequently, unless care be taken to make the expressions as general as possible, great confusion may arise.

If the notation, \aleph , α , β , γ , &c. which was adopted above, to express the several parts of our three first Gospels, be applied to this hypothesis, the contents of the Hebrew document mentioned No. 1. before any of the insertions mentioned No. 2. were made in it, will be properly represented by \aleph . For \aleph denotes what is contained in all three Gospels: and that, which is common to all three must be supposed to have stood in the document, which furnished their common materials. The notion, however, must not be applied in so strict a sense, as if the Hebrew document contained *no more* than what we find in *all three* Gospels: for this would imply not only that not one of the Evangelists, but that not one of the transcribers of the Hebrew document omitted a single sentence, which was contained in it. Further, since according to the principle laid down by Eichhorn¹, ‘that, when two Evangelists agree in augmenting any one of the XLII. general sections by the same addition, such addition was contained in both of the copies of the Hebrew document, from which their Gospels were derived,’ it follows that the copy from which St. Matthew’s Gospel was derived, obtained the additions of α and γ , the copy from which St. Mark’s Gospel was derived the additions α and β , and the copy from which St. Luke’s Gospel was derived the additions β and γ . Again, since the whole sections denoted by A are inserted in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark in the same places^k, and also the whole sections denominated by B are inserted by St. Mark and St. Luke in the same parts of their Gospels, it follows from the just-mentioned principle, that the sections A were contained in the copy, from which St. Matthew’s Gospel was derived, that the sections B were contained in the copy, from which St. Luke’s Gospel was derived, and also
in

¹ Eichhorn Allg. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 797.

^k There is one exception to this rule, which will be considered hereafter.

in the copy from which St. Mark's Gospel was derived¹. Of the sections Γ , some are inserted, like A and B, in corresponding places^m, whilst others, and those the most numerous, are inserted in places, which do not correspond to each other. The sections Γ therefore must be divided into two distinct classes, the former of which may be denoted by Γ^1 , the other by Γ^2 . Those of the former class, Γ^1 , must be supposed to have been contained in the copies of the Hebrew document from which the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke were derived, for the very same reason as the sections A are supposed to have been contained in the copies, from which the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark were derived. But we cannot make this supposition of the sections Γ^2 ; at least there is no ground for it on the above-mentioned principle. We will suppose therefore, with Eichhornⁿ, that these sections were derived from
a docu-

¹ Eichhorn Allg. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 960.

^m The sermon on the mount, Matth. v. vi. vii. Luke vi. 20—49. and the cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum, Matth. viii. 5—13. Luke vii. 1—10. occupy in both Gospels correspondent places. For Sect. XI. of the general sections, which contains 'The circumstances preparatory to the sermon on the mount,' is Matth. iv. 23—35. Mark iii. 7—19. Luke vi. 12—19. The sermon itself therefore follows both in St. Matthew and St. Luke in the same order, though St. Luke is much less copious on this subject than St. Matthew. Again, the cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum follows the sermon on the mount in both Gospels. In St. Luke's Gospel it follows without any interval: in St. Matthew's Gospel, with an interval of four verses, ch. viii. 1—4, which however is of no importance, because these four verses contain one of the general sections, which St. Matthew has inserted in parts of his Gospel, which do not correspond to the parts, which they occupy in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke.

ⁿ Pag. 965—967. Eichhorn observes in general terms, that the sections peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke are not in correspondent parts of their Gospels, and hence draws the general inference that they were not inserted in copies of the common Hebrew document. But since some exceptions must be made in the premises, some exceptions must be made in the inference.

a document, which was detached from, or not incorporated into the document \aleph . This supplemental Hebrew document, from which the sections Γ^1 were derived, may be denoted by Δ .

The notation, which was used to represent the contents of our three first Gospels, being thus adapted to the common Hebrew document, with its several additions, we may represent the three copies of that common Hebrew document, which served as the respective bases of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, in the following manner.

$\aleph + \alpha + \gamma + A + \Gamma^1$ { contents of the copy, from which
St. Matthew's Gospel was derived.

$\aleph + \alpha + \beta + A + B$ { contents of the copy, from which
St. Mark's Gospel was derived.

$\aleph + \beta + \gamma + B + \Gamma^1$ { contents of the copy, from which
St. Luke's Gospel was derived,

C H A P. XII.

OF SOME CAUTIONS, NECESSARY TO BE OBSERVED
IN DETERMINING ANY PARTICULAR FORM.

THE hypothesis, that our three first Gospels were derived from a common Hebrew original, being thus stated in general terms, the next step is to examine, whether this hypothesis in any one form will account for the various phænomena observable in our three first Gospels. If the hypothesis, in no form whatsoever will satisfactorily account for these phænomena, the whole must be rejected as devoid of foundation. On the other hand, if in any one particular form, and in that form only, it does account for the
phæ-

phænomena, the hypothesis may be retained, but all other particular forms of it must be discarded.

The variety of forms, which the general hypothesis is capable of assuming, is occasioned by the variety of modes, in which it may be supposed, that the copies of the common Hebrew document became the bases of our three first Gospels. For one person may suppose that the Evangelists used the Hebrew copies themselves, whilst others may suppose that they used only Greek translations of them. One person may suppose, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke, and that all three translated from copies of the common Hebrew document*, while another, who likewise presupposes that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, may assume, that one or more of them made use only of Greek translations. Or it may be supposed, that one or more of them made use both of the Hebrew original, and of Greek translations. Various combinations of these Greek versions may also be devised. On the other hand, St. Matthew may be supposed to have written in Hebrew, in which case it cannot well be supposed that he used a Greek translation: but then the suppositions, which may be made relative to St. Mark and St. Luke are as various, as when it is presupposed that St. Matthew wrote in Greek.

Among all these forms, it is evident that one only can be the true one: and that whatever form is the true one, it must account for all the phænomena observable in our three first Gospels. The first step, therefore, which we must take, is to compare these phænomena with the several forms, under which the general hypothesis may be represented. But as various combinations are imaginable, and various complex forms may be supposed, we must take care in forming an hypothesis, to put together only such parts, as are consistent with each other. Further, when we have
adopted

* This is Lessing's opinion, in his *Theologischer Nachlass* (Berlin, 1784, 8vo.) p. 58—68.

adopted a particular form, whether simple or complex, we must abide by that form in our explanation of *all* the phænomena, however manifold those phænomena may be : and we must not account for one phænomenon on the supposition, for instance, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, and for another phænomenon, on the supposition, that he wrote in Hebrew.

There is no part of the hypothesis, in which so much caution is necessary, as in that which relates to St. Matthew's Gospel. If we suppose, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke, St. Matthew's Gospel is placed in the same relation to the assumed common Hebrew document, as that, in which the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke stand : and in this case the general hypothesis may be applied in the same manner to all three Gospels. Again, if we suppose that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that the first of our Greek Gospels is simply a translation of it, we may analyse St. Matthew's Hebrew original through the medium of the Greek translation : and the hypothesis may be applied to St. Matthew's Gospel in a similar, though not precisely in the same manner, as to those of St. Mark and St. Luke. We need only make the following alteration, and say : St. Matthew, though he derived materials for his Gospel from the source, from which St. Mark and St. Luke drew, yet left those materials in the language, in which he found them. But, if it be supposed, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that the first of our Greek Gospels is more than a bare translation of it, that is, if we suppose that the translator, instead of giving only his original in a Greek dress, arranged, digested, and augmented it, so as to produce a Greek Gospel, which was different from St. Matthew's Hebrew original, the application of the hypothesis to St. Matthew's Gospel is attended with difficulty, because we shall not find it easy to determine in all cases, what St. Matthew wrote and what was added by his translator. It is true, that we may analyse the first of our Greek Gospels, and
consider

consider its relation to the second, and third, whether it received its present form and extent from St. Matthew, or from a person unknown. But then if we suppose, that some unknown person, who gave to it its present form and extent, made a Gospel written in Hebrew by St. Matthew the basis of it, we cannot well apply the general hypothesis, that our three first Gospels were derived from a *common* Hebrew document, unless we make the additional supposition, that St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was that common document^p. But whoever adopts this supposition, must necessarily abandon the opinion, that neither St. Mark nor St. Luke made use of St. Matthew's Gospel. In the application of the general hypothesis, the difference between the supposition, that our first Greek Gospel is simply a translation from a Hebrew Gospel written by St. Matthew, and the supposition that it was derived from a Hebrew Gospel, in the same manner as it is supposed that St. Mark's Gospel was derived, consists in this, that in the former case it is really St. Matthew's Gospel, whereas in the latter case it is no more St. Matthew's Gospel, than the Hebrew document, from which St. Mark's is supposed to have been drawn, can be called St. Mark's Gospel. In the former case, we can derive St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel itself, through the medium of the Greek translation, from the same common Hebrew document, as we derive the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke: in the latter case the investigation is inverted, and St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, instead of being derived from the same document as those of St. Mark and St. Luke, becomes itself the common document. It will be objected, perhaps, that what has been said in this paragraph

^p This additional supposition is made by Corrodi, and J. E. C. Schmidt. See *Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte des Jüdischen und Christlichen Bibelkanons* (Halle, 1792, 2 Vols. 8vo.), Vol. II. p. 152. and *Henke Magazin für Religions-philosophie Exegetik und Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. IV. p. 577.

graph contains an argumentation about words, rather than about facts, since we may analyse our three first Gospels, as we now find them, and consider their relation both to each other and to a supposed common original, without even asking, either by whom these Greek Gospels, or by whom the supposed common Hebrew document was written. Now that an analysis may be conducted on this broad scale, no one will deny: but on the other hand, if we mention the name of St. Matthew at all, (and no reason can be assigned why we should not, since the voice of all antiquity ascribes a Gospel to St. Matthew), we must take care, in so doing, to be every where consistent.

C H A P. XIII.

THE VARIOUS FORMS OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED GENERAL SUPPOSITION, AS THEY MAY BE REPRESENTED, WHEN IT IS ASSUMED THAT ST. MATTHEW WROTE IN GREEK, TRIED BY THE PHÆNOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

THESE observations being premised, respecting the caution necessary to be observed in determining any particular form of the general hypothesis, let us try in the first place, whether, on the supposition, *that St. Matthew wrote in Greek*, a form may be devised, which will account for all the phænomena in our three first Gospels. On this supposition, St. Matthew's Gospel, according to the statement above made, contains a Greek translation of a copy of the Hebrew document \aleph , which had been enriched by the additions $\alpha + \gamma + A + \Gamma^2$: St. Luke's Gospel of another copy of the same document, which had been enriched by the additions,

additions, $B+\gamma+B+\Gamma'$: and St. Mark's Gospel of a third copy of the same document, which had been enriched by the additions $\alpha+\beta+A+B$. Now we may assume,

1. *That all three Evangelists translated immediately from the Hebrew, and that in making their translations, they consulted neither each other's Gospels, nor any Greek translation previously made.*

But then our three first Gospels would contain three perfectly independent translations, which, as has been already shewn, is not true. Consequently this form is inadmissible.

2. *That all three translated immediately from the Hebrew, but that the succeeding Evangelists made use likewise of the Gospels of the preceding, and that in many passages, instead of translating for themselves, the one transcribed from the other.*

This form is likewise inadmissible. For it has been already shewn, in ch. 8. that the phenomena in the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels cannot be explained on the supposition, that one Evangelist copied from the other. If therefore we unite this supposition with the hypothesis of a common Hebrew document, in order to explain what the supposition of three independent translations does not explain, we shall not answer the purpose, for which we unite them.

3. *That St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke made use of Greek translations only.*

Now since \aleph was contained in all three copies, whether Hebrew or Greek, which are supposed to have been used by the Evangelists, either the three Greek copies, assumed in the present case, must have contained the same Greek translation of the Hebrew text of \aleph , or two of them contained the same, and the third a different translation, or lastly these three copies contained a mixture of translations. To represent this by signs: either all three copies contained the same translation X : or two of them contained the translation X , and the third the translation Y : or one contained

the translation *X*, another the translation *Y*, and the third the translation *Z*: or one, or more of them, contained a mixture of *X* and *Y*, or of *X* and *Z*, or of *Y* and *Z*, or of *X*, *Y*, and *Z*.

But all three cannot have contained the same Greek translation. For in that case the principal materials of our three first Greek Gospels would have been drawn from the *same* Greek source, which has been already shewn to be impossible^p. Nor can two of these copies have contained the same translation, while the third contained a different translation. For if we suppose that St. Matthew and St. Mark used the same translation, and St. Luke a different one, or that St. Matthew and St. Luke used the same translation and St. Mark a different one, the numerous examples of verbal agreement in \aleph between St. Mark and St. Luke remain unexplained: and, on the other hand, if we suppose that St. Mark and St. Luke had the same translation, but St. Matthew a different one, the still more numerous examples of verbal agreement in \aleph between St. Matthew and St. Mark remain unexplained. Still less can all three have used different translations: for on this supposition, St. Mark's verbal agreement with St. Matthew, as well as his verbal agreement with St. Luke, is inexplicable.

There remains then only the last case, that the Evangelists made use of copies, which contained a mixture of translations. Now the various modes, in which such a mixture may be imagined to have taken place, are very numerous: but among all which I have tried (and I have made all imaginable combinations), not one will account for all the phænomena in our three first Gospels. That which approaches the nearest to a solution of the phænomena, is the following^q: *That*
St.

^p See above Ch. 9.

^q Three is the smallest number of translations, which can be assumed, because if only two different translations had entered into the composition of the three copies, supposed to have been used by the
the

St. Matthew used a copy XY, which was a compilation from two different translations X and Y, that St. Luke used a copy YZ, which was a compilation from the translation Y and a third translation Z, and that St. Mark used a copy XYZ, which was a compilation from the translations X, Y and Z. If we adopt this form, we may say, that in whatever place all three Evangelists use the same words, the text of the translation *X*, was in that place in all three copies: that where St. Matthew and St. Mark verbally agree without St. Luke, the text of the translation *X* was in the two copies used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, whence arose the verbal agreement between these two Evangelists, and the disagreement in St. Luke, because the translation *X* did not enter into the composition of St. Luke's copy: that, where St. Mark and St. Luke verbally agree, without St. Matthew, the text of the translation *Z* was contained in the two copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke, whence arose the verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, and the disagreement in St. Matthew, whose copy contained nothing from the translation *Z*; that where St. Matthew and St. Mark relate the same thing in different words, either St. Matthew's copy had the text of *X*, but St. Mark's copy that of *X* or of *Z*, or St. Matthew's copy the text of *X*, but St. Mark's copy that of *X* or *Z*: that, where St. Mark and St. Luke relate the same thing in different words, their copies had in like manner the texts of different translations; or all three contained different translations: and that where all three relate the same thing in different words, all three copies had the texts of different translations, namely either *X*, *X*, *Z*,

the Evangelists, there could have been no passage, in which at least two of these copies did not verbally agree. But if our three first Gospels had been derived from three *such* Greek documents, the examples in which all three Gospels contain the same thing in different words, could not have been so numerous. On the other hand, there is no necessity for assuming more than three different translations, since three answer all the purposes of a still greater number.

X, Y, Z , or X, Z, Y , or Y, Z, X . So far this form appears to succeed tolerably well. But before we proceed we must ask the following question. When one writer compiles a mixed work XY , by copying in this page from the translation X , in that page from the translation Y , another writer compiles a mixed work YZ by copying sometimes from Y , at other times from Z , and a third writer compiles a mixed work XYZ , by copying in one place from the translation X , in another place from the translation Y , in another place again from the translation Z , is it to be supposed that wherever the first and the second writer happen both of them to copy from the translation Y , it should never happen to the third writer, who has three translations lying before him, to copy in those places either from X or from Z ? In a single instance only the chance is two to one against the supposition, and as the instances increase, the improbability increases much more rapidly than the instances themselves. Yet we must necessarily make this very improbable supposition, if the form now under consideration shall account for the phænomenon, that wherever St. Matthew and St. Luke agree verbally in \aleph , St. Mark likewise agrees verbally with both. For if St. Matthew copied from the mixed work XY , St. Luke from the mixed work YZ , St. Mark from the mixed work XYZ , and it be said, that where St. Matthew and St. Luke verbally agree, the text of the translation Y was in those places in both of their copies, we must at the same time assume, that the text of the same translation Y was in all those places likewise in the mixed work, from which St. Mark copied: for if in any one of these places, the text either of X , or of Z , had been there, the words of St. Mark's Gospel could not in that place have coincided with those of St. Matthew and St. Luke. Another phænomenon, which this form is likewise incapable of explaining is, that St. Matthew and St. Mark have no verbal agreement in any of those sections, which in St. Matthew's Gospel occupy different places from those, which they occupy in St. Mark's Gospel.

For

For this effect could not have been produced by the cause now under consideration, unless the writers of *XY* and *XYZ* invariably copied from different translations throughout all those sections, which were afterwards differently arranged by St. Matthew and St. Mark. But in order to have done this, they must have been endued with the spirit of prophecy, if the difference of arrangement is to be ascribed either to St. Matthew or to St. Mark. And even if it be ascribed to the writer of *XY*, or of *XYZ*, still they must have written in concert, and have prescribed to themselves a law, for which no reason whatever can be assigned. This form, therefore, will not account for all the phenomena even in \aleph . When we proceed to the phenomena in α , β , γ , A, B, we must likewise suppose, that various Greek translations had been made of these additions, but that one set was unmixed, while another was mixed. For instance, since St. Matthew and St. Mark sometimes verbally agree in α , at other times verbally differ in α , we must suppose that each of their copies contained a mixture of Greek translations of α : but, as St. Mark and St. Luke, except in one short sentence, never agree verbally in β , we must suppose that, with exception to that one sentence, two perfectly distinct and unmixed translations of β had been inserted in the copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke. Now, when it is necessary to have recourse to so many artificial and perplexed combinations, the chance is always against an hypothesis, even if the phenomena to be solved, can be tolerably explained by it: and when these phenomena can be easily solved by a simple hypothesis, the latter is justly entitled to the preference. Besides, it is really difficult to comprehend by what successive gradations three such copies, as it is necessary here to assume, could have been formed: and it is inconceivable, that in the two copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke, \aleph should have existed in a mixture of translations, while the additions β , which are so interwoven with \aleph , that no one in reading them

perceives their distinction, existed in two different translations. For these additions are not supposed to have existed in a separate work, but to have been insertions in the text of the Hebrew document. Further, if the suppositions of such a mixture, and of such an unmixture of translations in one and the same work were compatible with each other, yet the bare notion that any person ever made such an attempt involves in it so much improbability, that a case must be very desperate, when it is necessary to have recourse to it. For though nothing is more common than a compilation from different works, because it answers this good purpose, that scattered materials are brought into one mass, yet a compilation from different translations of one and the same work would be an useless and even ridiculous undertaking, since, if an hundred translations were used, the compiled work could not possibly contain more matter, than each translation singly contained, and would exhibit an heterogeneous mixture, which could produce no other effect, than disgust. Such an undertaking cannot be rendered probable by appealing to what critics call *Codices eclecticici*, or *MSS.* of the Greek Testament, which contain, not transcripts from any one *MS.* but a text formed by adopting the readings of several *MSS.* For when length of time, and a multiplication of copies of the same work have produced various readings in it, the writer of a *MS.* (since only one of the various readings in each place can be the genuine one, and the genuine reading may be contained sometimes in one copy, sometimes in another), may with great propriety have recourse to several copies, and select from each those readings, which appear to him to deserve the preference. Thus Griesbach's edition of the Greek Testament is a very valuable *Codex eclecticicus*, containing the most approved readings of all the known *MSS.* But if an editor, who was publishing an edition of the Latin New Testament, should print in one page from the translation of Erasmus, in another from the translation
of

of Beza, in a third from the translation of Castalio, he would expose himself to ridicule.

We will suppose, however, in order to lessen, if possible, the inconveniences attending the form now under consideration, that these mixtures were the result not of choice, but of necessity, that the person, who wrote the copy *XY*, transcribed from a manuscript of the translation *X*, in which there were many chasms, and that having no other copy of the translation *X*, he was obliged to fill up these chasms in the transcript, which he himself was making, from a manuscript of the translation *Y*, which happened in those places to be perfect, that in like manner the person, who wrote the copy *YZ*, transcribed from a manuscript of the translation *Y*, which was defective, and that he was obliged to fill up the chasms by copying from a manuscript of the translation *Z*, which in those places was not defective; and lastly, that the person, who wrote the copy *XYZ*, transcribed from a mutilated manuscript of the translation *Z*, the chasms of which he supplied, partly from a manuscript of the translation *X*, and partly, where this manuscript was likewise defective, from a manuscript of the translation *Z*. Now by this representation we avoid the difficulty attending the supposition of a designedness of compilation: but then we expose ourselves to another difficulty, which is equally great. For, as the examples of verbal agreement are not confined either to the beginning, or to the middle, or to the end of our three first Gospels, but are scattered throughout the whole, the chasms in the manuscripts of *X*, *Y*, and *Z*, which were used by the writers of *XY*, *YZ*, and *XYZ*, must have been more numerous, than the circumstances of those times can permit us to suppose. The Christians of the first century were in general poor, transcripts were attended with expence, and therefore we cannot imagine that more were made, than were wanted for actual use: but no man, who knows how to use a manuscript, and understands its value, will wantonly mutilate or efface it. Such accidents

dents happen usually to those manuscripts alone, which fall into the hands of illiterate barbarians, who understand not the language, in which they are written, who know not their contents, who regard them as waste parchment, and treat them accordingly. There is as much improbability, therefore, in the supposition, that three such mutilated MSS. of the translation *X*, *Y*, and *Z*, existed in the first century, before our canonical Gospels were written, as there is in the supposition of a *designed* compilation from entire translations. The other difficulties are likewise equally great: for if no combinations, in which the writers were at liberty to combine as they pleased, can satisfactorily solve the phenomena, no combinations, in which the writers were bound by necessity, can answer the purpose.

To avoid these objections, recourse may be had to the supposition that St. Matthew, instead of having used a translation *XY*, which had been patched up from the translations *X* and *Y*, made use of these translations in an unmixed state, and that he sometimes copied from *X*, at other times from *Y*, that St. Luke, in like manner, used two distinct translations *Y* and *Z*, and copied sometimes from *Y*, sometimes from *Z*, that St. Mark had three distinct translations *X*, *Y*, and *Z*, and copied in one place from *X*, in another from *Y*, in a third place from *Z*: that St. Matthew and St. Mark had each of them more than one translation of α , and that they copied sometimes from the one, sometimes from the other, that St. Mark and St. Luke had each only one, but not the same, translation of β , and so on. But this form is so nearly allied to the preceding, that most of the objections, which may be made to the one, may be made likewise to the other. And the latter, like the former, is incapable of explaining the phenomenon, that wherever St. Matthew and St. Luke verbally agree in \aleph , St. Mark likewise agrees verbally with both. For according to the latter form, St. Matthew and St. Luke must verbally agree, whenever both copied in the same place from the translation *Y*: but that St. Mark likewise, who had three trans-

translations *X*, *Y*, and *Z*, should always hit upon the translation *Y*, and never on either *X* or *Z*, where St. Matthew and St. Luke had copied from *Y*, is not very credible. Yet this supposition must be made: or the phænomenon in question remains unexplained. Equally difficult shall we find it to account for the phænomenon, that St. Matthew and St. Mark never agree verbally in any of the sections, which occupy different places in their Gospels. For if both St. Matthew and St. Mark made use of the translations *X* and *Y*, it is inconceivable that they should not have copied in any one instance throughout all these sections from the same translation. Many other difficulties might be pointed out, which attend this and every other form, under which a variety of Greek translations may be imagined: but what has been already said is sufficient to shew, that the phænomena in our three first Gospels must be explained on some other principle.

4. *That all three Evangelists used both Hebrew and Greek copies.*

Now these Greek copies, as before, contained, either the same translation of *N*, or two of them the same and the third a different one, or all three contained different translations, or lastly the Evangelists used a mixture of translations. But the first case is not possible: for if all three Evangelists had in some places translated from the Hebrew, and in other places transcribed from a translation *X*, St. Matthew and St. Luke must sometimes have copied from *X*, where St. Mark did not, as well as St. Matthew and St. Mark, where St. Luke did not, and St. Mark and St. Luke where St. Matthew did not. But since we find no example, in which St. Matthew and St. Luke verbally agree in *N* without St. Mark, it is evident that St. Matthew and St. Luke cannot have copied from the same translation. Nor is the second case possible: for if St. Matthew and St. Mark had used the same translation and St. Luke a different one, St. Mark and St. Luke could not have verbally agreed in the manner, in which they do; and on the other hand, if St. Mark and St. Luke had used the

same translation, but St. Matthew a different one, St. Matthew and St. Mark could not have verbally agreed in the manner in which they do. For these reasons the third case is likewise impossible. There remains then, as before, only the fourth case, that they used a mixture of translations. But the insuperable difficulties, which attend this supposition, have been already stated in the preceding article; and these difficulties will not be lessened by the additional supposition, that the Evangelists used likewise the Hebrew original.

5. *That two Evangelists used both Hebrew and Greek copies, while the third used the Hebrew only: or that two of them used the Hebrew alone, and the third both a Hebrew and a Greek copy.*

But the first of these two forms cannot account for the verbal agreement in all three Evangelists: and the other form cannot account for the verbal agreement even between any two,

6. *That one of the Evangelists used the Hebrew alone, and that the other two used translations alone: or that two of the Evangelists used the Hebrew alone, while the third used a Greek translation alone.*

But this form, in whatever light we place it, will never be able to explain the examples of verbal coincidence in all three Evangelists: and therefore it is unnecessary to point out the single difficulties, which attend each particular position of it.

7. *That one of the Evangelists used a Greek translation alone, but that the other two used both the Hebrew original and a Greek translation: or that two of the Evangelists used only a Greek translation, but that the third, together with a Greek translation, used also the Hebrew original.*

According to this form, each of the Evangelists used, either with or without the Hebrew original, a Greek translation of it. The objections therefore, which were made to No. 3, and No. 4, apply likewise to the present form.

It appears then, that the hypothesis of a common Hebrew original is incapable of giving a satisfactory
solution

solution of the phenomena observable in our three first Gospels, if it be represented in any of those forms, which include the supposition, *that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Greek*¹.

C H A P. XIV.

THE VARIOUS FORMS OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED GENERAL SUPPOSITION, AS THEY MAY BE REPRESENTED, WHEN IT IS ASSUMED, THAT ST. MATTHEW WROTE IN HEBREW, TRIED BY THE PHÆNOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

IT remains therefore that we examine the forms, in which the hypothesis may be represented, when it is presupposed *that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew*.

Now if we presuppose, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew we cannot well assume, that he made use of any Greek translation: consequently the question, whether Greek translations were used by the Evangelists is confined to St. Mark and St. Luke. Yet here, as before, there are various possible forms. We may assume,

1. *That St. Mark and St. Luke, as well as St. Matthew, used copies of the Hebrew original only.*

But in this case the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke would contain two perfectly independent translations, which, as has been already shewn, is not true.

2. *That St. Mark and St. Luke used copies of the Hebrew original, but at the same time that the successor used likewise the Gospel of his predecessor.*

But

¹ If for the name of St. Matthew we substitute any other name assumed at pleasure, the arguments, which have been used are equally valid. Consequently, if we suppose that any other person was the author of our first Greek Gospel, the hypothesis of a common Hebrew document is likewise incapable, in any shape whatever, of explaining the phenomena.

But this form is likewise insufficient for the explanation of the phenomena, as appears from what was said in No. 2. of the preceding chapter.

3. *That St. Mark and St. Luke used Greek translations only.*

By a mode of reasoning similar to that which was adopted in No. 3. of the preceding chapter, it may be shewn that this form likewise, in whatever light it be placed, is inadmissible.

4. *That St. Mark and St. Luke used the Hebrew original, and likewise different translations of it.*

But on this supposition the numerous examples of verbal agreement between these two Evangelists remain unexplained.

5. *That the one used the Hebrew alone, while the other used a Greek translation alone.*

This form is likewise inadmissible, and for the same reason, as the foregoing.

None of these five forms therefore will account for the phenomena in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke alone: and after these are explained, the phenomena in the Greek translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, which at present is supposed to have been written in Hebrew, are still left for consideration,

C H A P. XV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE AUTHOR'S HYPOTHESIS.

THERE remains however one form, and that a very simple and probable one, which will solve the phenomena of every description in a very satisfactory manner, and in a manner perfectly consistent with divine inspiration,

inspiration, as will appear from a subsequent Note. This form is the following^a.

St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, all three, used copies of the common Hebrew document \aleph : the materials of which St. Matthew, who wrote in Hebrew, retained in the language, in which he found them, but St. Mark and St. Luke translated them into Greek. They had no knowledge of each other's Gospels: but St. Mark and St. Luke, beside their copies of the Hebrew document \aleph , used a Greek translation of it, which had been made, before any of the additions α , β , &c. had been inserted. Lastly, as the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke contain Greek translations of Hebrew materials, which were incorporated into St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, the person, who translated St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel into Greek, frequently derived assistance, from the Gospel of St. Mark, where St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew: and in those places, but in those places only, where St. Mark had no matter in common with St. Matthew, he had frequently recourse to St. Luke's Gospel,

The hypothesis, thus stated and determined, will account for all the phænomena, relative to the verbal agreement and disagreement in our three first Gospels, as

^a The following form relates only to the Hebrew document, which was used by all three Evangelists. But beside this common document, there was another, used only by St. Matthew and St. Luke, of which more will be said hereafter.

as well as for the other manifold relations, which they bear to each other: and it contains nothing, which is either improbable in itself, or is inconsistent with historical evidence. That this may appear the more clearly, let us trace the several steps, which may be supposed to have been taken, from the first drawing up of the Hebrew document **Σ** to the composition of our canonical Gospels.

I. HEBREW DOCUMENT **Σ**: WHICH CONTAINED A NARRATIVE OF FACTS.

Several years before any of our canonical Gospels were composed, a short narrative was drawn up containing the principal transactions of Jesus Christ from his baptism to his death: which narrative we denote by **Σ**. It must not be considered as a finished history, but as a document containing only materials for a history: and as those materials were probably not all communicated at the same time, we must suppose, that they were not all placed in exact chronological order. It was written, as may be reasonably expected, in the native language of the Jews of Jerusalem, that is, in Chaldee intermixed with ancient Hebrew words: but as the fathers give to this dialect the name of Hebrew, as well as to the language, in which the Old Testament is written, and the use of the term ‘Hebrew’ in this sense, when it is properly explained will create no confusion, we may say that the narrative **Σ** was written in Hebrew.

As no persons were so well qualified to give an account of Christ’s transactions, as they who had constantly attended him, and the ancient fathers speak of a ‘Gospel according

according to the Apostles^b, and of ‘Memoirs of the Apostles^c,’ we may suppose, without violating the rules of probability, that this document \aleph was drawn up from communications made by the Apostles, and therefore that it was not only a work of good authority, but a work, which was worthy of furnishing materials to any one of the Apostles, who had formed a resolution of writing a more complete history. I would not however convert either the Memoirs of the Apostles, or the Gospel according to the Apostles, or the Gospel according to the Hebrews (if this was a different work), as they existed in a later age, into the assumed Hebrew document \aleph , which is to be considered only as the basis of these, as well as of other Gospels. But since a work may retain its original name, even after it has lost, in consequence of alterations and additions, its original form and extent, there is no improbability in supposing that a document, which served as the ground work of the ‘Gospel according to the Apostles,’ was called by some Hebrew title, which in Greek would be expressed by Διηγησις^d περὶ τῶν κ. τ. λ. καθὼς παρεδόσαν οἱ ἀποστολοὶ. Or the person, or persons, who drew it up from the communications of the Apostles, might entitle it Διηγησις περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, καθὼς παρέδσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς αὐτοπταὶ καὶ ὑπηρεταὶ γενομένοι τε λόγοι, a title, which St. Luke himself has quoted in the Preface to his Gospel. That these words are not St. Luke’s own, but the title of a book, is a conjecture of Lessing^e, which

^b Τῶν δώδεκα εὐαγγελίων as named by Origen in his first homily on St. Luke’s Gospel (Origen. Op. Tom. III. p. 932. Note *a* ed. Delarue)—secundum Apostolos, as called by Jerom in his third book against the Pelagians, and τῶν δώδεκα, as named by Theophylact in the Preface to his Commentary on St. Luke’s Gospel.

^c Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων. By this name Justin Martyr calls the work, from which he cites passages relative to Christ’s history: and he says expressly of it ὑπο τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολούθησαντων συντεταχθαι. Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 331. ed. Colon.

^d Not εὐαγγέλιον: for εὐαγγέλιον in the first century had not acquired the sense of ‘Life of Christ.’

^e Theologischer Nachlass, p. 65.

which is approved by Storr^f: and that the conjecture is not ill-founded will appear from the following considerations. 1. After St. Luke had written, *επειδεπερ πολλοι επιχειρησαν αναταξασθαι*, he would have used, not *διηγησιν* in the singular, but *διηγησεις* in the plural, if by this word he had meant, as is commonly supposed^g, to express narratives written by these πολλοι. 2. *Αναταξασθαι διηγησιν* is not synonymous to *γραφαι διηγησιν*: for it does not signify ‘to write a new narrative,’ but ‘to rearrange a narrative already written.’ 3. If these had been St. Luke’s own words, he must have said *καθως παρεδοσαν αυτοις*, and not *καθως παρεδοσαν ημιν*: for though we may say of other persons, that they have undertaken to write a history, as eye-witnesses have related the facts to *them*, we cannot well say, that they have undertaken to write a history, as eye-witnesses have related the facts to *us*^h. 4. If so many persons had written narratives of Christ’s transactions, and had written only what eye-witnesses to these translations had related, there was the less necessity for St. Luke to write a Gospel, and Theophilus might have ‘known the certainty of these things,’ though St. Luke had not written. 5. All the objections are removed by the supposition, that the words from *διηγησιν* to *λογε*, are nothing more than a Greek translation of a Hebrew title, which had been adopted by the writer or writers of the Hebrew document \aleph : that in the interval, which elapsed between the composition of this document, and that of St. Luke’s Gospel, many

^f *Zweck der Evangelischen Geschichte und Briefe Johannis* (Tübingen 1786, 8vo). p. 357. But neither Lessing nor Storr apply the conjecture in the manner, in which it is here applied.

^g See Mill. Prol. § 35.

^h No commentator, as far as I know, has made this remark, though it appears to be a very obvious one. L. Capellus proposed indeed a transposition of all the words from *καθως* to *λογε*, and recommended their insertion after *ακριβως*, which would remove the objection here made; but Cappellus appears to have had a different object in view. At any rate, a cause must be very desperate before such arbitrary transpositions can be admitted.

many persons had attempted to re-arrange and new-model the Hebrew narrative \aleph , by making in it additions, transpositions, &c. in short αναταξασθαι την διηγησιν¹: and, that as not all the additions, which had been made by these many writers, were drawn from the best sources^k, St. Luke, who had accurately traced every transaction from the beginning (παρηκολυθη πως ανωθεν πασιν ακριβως), resolved to compose a narrative, of which he made, as others had done, the authentic document \aleph the basis, but introduced only such additions, as he knew were consistent with the truth, that Theophilus, for whose immediate use he wrote, might know the certainty of those things, in which he had been instructed, (ινα επιγνω περι ων κατηχηθη λογων την ασφαλειαν). The same motive, which induced St. Luke to compose a Gospel in Greek, might have induced St. Matthew to compose a Gospel in Hebrew, that the Jewish converts in Palestine might likewise be able to distinguish truth from falsehood.

But whether this conjecture be grounded or not, the hypothesis itself remains unaffected.

II. GREEK TRANSLATION OF THE HEBREW DOCUMENT \aleph .

As the document \aleph was written in Hebrew, and was therefore unintelligible to the Greek Christians, it was soon translated into Greek. This Greek translation, which I suppose to have been made, before the text of \aleph had been augmented by any additions α , β , &c. may be denoted \aleph .

III. COPIES

¹ St. Luke has αναταξασθαι διηγησιν, without the article. Whether this omission is sufficient to destroy the whole conjecture, I leave to be determined by the learned.

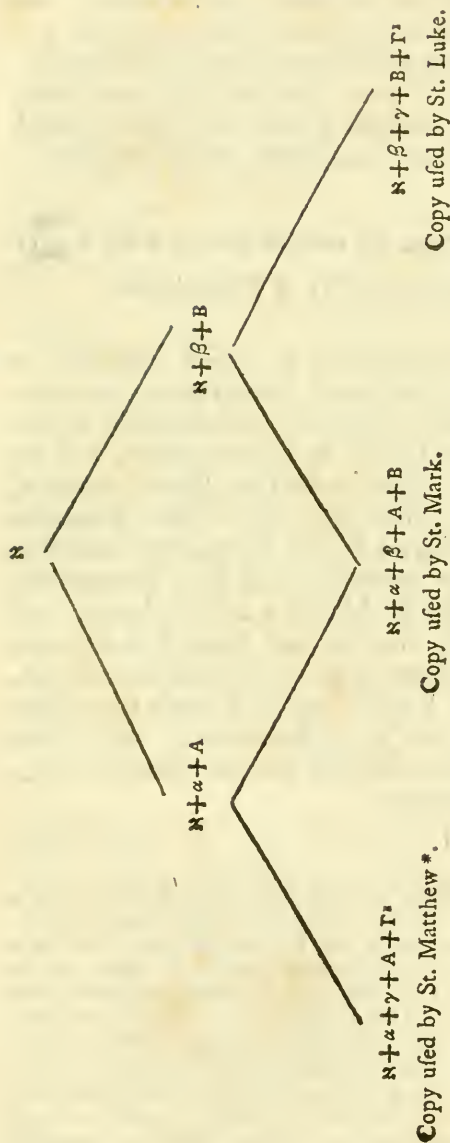
^k I have no doubt that these persons had the honest intention of relating only what they believed to be true, nor does St. Luke's Preface imply the contrary. But as they who take their information, at second hand, are liable to be deceived, they had undesignedly blended inaccurate with accurate accounts; and this St. Luke's Preface *does* imply.

III. COPIES OF THE HEBREW DOCUMENT

WITH ADDITIONS.

In process of time, as new communications from the Apostles and other eye-witnesses brought to light either additional circumstances relative to transactions already recorded in \aleph , or transactions, which had been left wholly unnoticed, those persons, who possessed copies of \aleph , added in their manuscripts such additional circumstances and transactions; and these additions in subsequent copies were inserted in the text. The additions of the former kind have been denoted above by α , β , γ : those of the latter kind by A, B, Γ^1 . We may suppose then, that in one copy the additions $\alpha + A$ were made, in another copy the additions $\beta + B$; that in a third copy these additions were united, and lastly that the first and the second copies were each of them, further augmented by the additions γ and Γ^1 . The genealogy of these transcripts may be represented in the following manner¹.

¹ Γ^1 denotes those sections, which St. Matthew and St. Luke have in the same order; Γ^2 those which they have in a different order. See the end of Ch. 11.



* To prevent mistakes, it is necessary to observe, that, though α , β , &c. are placed after N in the notation here adopted to represent the copies used by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and Luke, it must not be supposed, that they were so placed in the copies themselves. They were not annexed as supplements at the end of N , but were inserted, one in one place, another in another, from the beginning to the end of the document. But their position could not be represented by algebraical signs, which represent only quantity and number. No confusion however can arise, if the explanation here given, be kept constantly in view.

Further,

By this genealogy, the origin of the three copies supposed to have been used by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, is traced in an easy and simple manner, and there is no necessity either for making any perplexed and improbable combinations, or for supposing a great multiplication of copies. Two intermediate transcripts, between the original document \aleph and the copies supposed to have been used by the Evangelists, were sufficient.

IV. SUPPLEMENTAL HEBREW DOCUMENT \beth , WHICH CONTAINED A Γνωμολογία.

In addition to the document \aleph , which contained a series of *facts*, another document was drawn up, containing a *collection of precepts, parables, and discourses*, which had been delivered by Christ, at different times, and on different occasions. In this collection, though many of the facts were noted, which gave rise to those precepts, parables, and discourses, no regard was paid to chronological order. It was not common to all three Evangelists, for it was used only by St. Matthew and St. Luke: and these two Evangelists had not the same, but different copies of it, St. Matthew's copy containing some things, which were not in St. Luke's, and St. Luke's copy some things, which were not in St. Matthew's. From this supplemental document, which may be denoted by \beth , were derived the sections Γ^2 .

V. ST.

Further, though St. Matthew's copy contained $\aleph + \alpha + \gamma + A + \Gamma^1$, it is not therefore to be inferred that these were *the whole* of its contents. For it is not improbable that it contained some additions, which had been made neither in the copy used by St. Mark, nor in the copy used by St. Luke: and that hence St. Matthew derived some of the materials, which are in his Gospel alone. The same observation may be made in respect to the copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke. Such additions, as were peculiar to each of the three copies might be denoted, in one by Δ , in the other by E, in the third by Z. But they cannot be taken into the present estimate, because we have no data, to distinguish them from the additions, which each Evangelist himself made.

V. ST. MATTHEW'S HEBREW GOSPEL.

St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, and made the Hebrew document \aleph , augmented by the additions $\alpha + \gamma + A + \Gamma^1$, the basis of his Gospel. He likewise inserted in various parts of his Gospel much matter (Γ^1), which was contained in the supplemental document \beth . Thus he gave the sanction of apostolical authority to facts and discourses, which were already recorded. Further, he made many additions, sometimes of particular circumstances, at other times of facts and discourses, which are contained, neither in the Gospel of St. Mark, nor in that of St. Luke. Lastly, he arranged and digested the whole according to his own plan: in the former part of the document \aleph he made many transpositions, because many of the facts had not been placed in chronological order, and in many other places he altered and improved the original text. According to this representation, St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel must be considered as a work quite distinct from that document, which was the basis only of his Gospel, as well as of the other two. Nor must it be confounded with that Hebrew Gospel which was afterwards called St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel¹, and was used, (but in copies which did not agree with each other) by the Nazarenes and the Ebionites^m.

That

¹ Quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum, as Jerom says in note to Matth. xii. 13. (Tom. IV. P. I. p. 47. ed. Benedict.) and, ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthæum, as he says, (adv. Pelag. Lib. III. T. IV. P. II. p. 533). Now if Jerom had himself been convinced, that the Hebrew Gospel, which he saw at the end of the fourth century, was St. Matthew's genuine text, he would not have said, quod vocatur, &c. and ut plerique autumant, &c. when Irenæus therefore says (adv. Hæres. Lib. III. cap. 11), that the Ebionites used the Gospel of St. Matthew, his testimony proves only, that the Ebionite Gospel bore the name of St. Matthew in the second century, not that it was St. Matthew's genuine original; a fact, which Irenæus, who did not understand Hebrew, could not attest.

^m The copy used by the Nazarenes is called by Epiphanius (Hæres. XXIX. 9.) το κατά Ματθαίον ευαγγέλιον πληρεστάτον ἑβραϊστί. Of the
VOL. III. PART II, B b copy

That these copies contained in some places matter, which is not at all in our Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, and that where they had the same or similar matter the relations were frequently very different, appears from the quotations of Jerom and Epiphaniusⁿ. Either therefore they differed in many respects from St. Matthew's genuine original, or the later differed materially from our Greek translation. But, according to the hypothesis, which is here proposed, our first Greek Gospel is nothing more and nothing less than a plain translation of St. Matthew's genuine original. Consequently St. Matthew's genuine original must, according to our hypothesis, be considered as a Gospel, which was not indeed totally different from, but was not precisely the same with the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes and the Ebionites. How it came to pass that the Gospel of the Nazarenes and the Ebionites acquired among other titles (for it had more than one) the appellation of St. Matthew's Gospel, whether, as used by the Nazarenes in the first century it was really St. Matthew's Hebrew original, but gradually lost its pristine form through numerous alterations and additions, or whether from the very first it was a different offspring from the Hebrew document N, but was afterwards confounded with the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, because both of them were used by inhabitants of Judæa, were written in the same language, and contained much matter in common with each other, is a question of no importance to the present inquiry, which relates only to the origin of our three first canonical Gospels.

VI. ST.

copy used by the Ebionites he says, (Hæres. XXX. 13.) *εν τῷ παρ' αυτοις ευαγγελιω, κατα Ματθαιον ονομαζομενω, εχ' ὅλω δε πληρεστατω, αλλα νεοθευμενω και περωτηριασμενω.*

ⁿ The quotations of Jerom and Epiphanius from the copies used by the Nazarenes and the Ebionites have been collected by Grabe and Fabricius, but more completely by Jones, in his *New and full method of settling the canonical authority of the New Testament*, Vol. I. p. 336—350.

VI. ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL^o.

St. Luke had a copy of the Hebrew document \aleph , which had been enriched by the additions, $\beta + \gamma + B + \Gamma^1$. This copy he made the basis of the principal part of his Gospel, and adhered to it throughout even in the *arrangement* of the facts^p, not venturing to transpose any of them, as St. Matthew did, because he was not an Apostle and eye-witness, and had no knowledge of St. Matthew's Gospel^q. He likewise derived much matter (Γ^2),

^o It is immaterial to the present hypothesis, whether the Gospel of St. Luke was written before that of St. Mark, or not. But as there is reason to believe, that St. Luke's Gospel was written before that of St. Mark, I place it immediately after St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel. And that even St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was written after that of St. Luke is neither impossible nor improbable: but as no one can prove that it was, I have assigned to it its usual place.

^p When St. Luke says in his Preface (Ch. I. 3.) that he wrote *καθ' ἑξῆς*, he alludes perhaps to his retention of the order, in which the facts were arranged in his document \aleph : an order, which had not been retained by those, of whom he says in his Preface that they had undertaken *ἀνατάξασθαι διηγησιν*.

^q As St. Luke himself declares in his Preface, that he had made the most diligent inquiries in respect to the history of Jesus Christ, and as he had ample means of information during the two years, which he spent in Judæa, while St. Paul was prisoner at Cæsarea, it may be objected, that during that period he must have heard of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, as well as of the Hebrew documents \aleph and \beth . But that St. Matthew's Gospel then existed, is more than any man can prove. On the contrary, according to Irenæus, the most ancient evidence on this subject, St. Matthew did not write till after St. Luke had left Judæa, to accompany St. Paul into Italy: for Irenæus says, (Euseb. H. E. Lib. V. cap. 8.) that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, while St. Paul and St. Peter were in Rome. This sufficiently accounts for the fact, that St. Luke had no knowledge of St. Matthew's Gospel, a fact, which may be proved on other grounds, which it is unnecessary to repeat. But whether St. Luke drew up his Gospel and presented it to Theophilus, before St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was written, is another inquiry, in which it is not so easy to give a satisfactory answer, because no one knows, at least with certainty, whether Theophilus, for whose particular use St. Luke wrote, lived in Judæa, or whether he lived elsewhere: and therefore, since it frequently happens, that an

(1st), as St. Matthew did, from the supplemental Hebrew document \beth , but from a copy of it, which contained some things, which St. Matthew's copy did not, as St. Matthew's copy contained some things, which St. Luke's copy did not. The use likewise, which St. Luke made of the document \beth , was different from that, which St. Matthew made of it. For, as the document \beth contained a collection of precepts, parables, and discourses, which had been delivered by Christ at different times, and on different occasions, St. Matthew inserted them in various parts of his Gospel, having regard probably to the times and to the occasions, on which they were delivered. But St. Luke, who was not present at their delivery, retained them for the most part, though not wholly, in the collection, in which he found them: and this collection, with exception to a discourse and a parable, which will be considered hereafter, he inserted in that portion of his Gospel, which begins with ch. ix. 15. and ends with ch. xviii. 14. a portion, which consists almost wholly of precepts, parables, and discourses, the few facts, which are introduced in it, being nothing more than preludes to the discourses themselves. Of this portion the document \beth was the basis, as the document \aleph was the basis of the rest of his Gospel, which contains chiefly a series of facts. Further, in addition to the materials, which St. Luke derived from \aleph and \beth , he inserted in his Gospel much other matter, the knowledge of which he obtained from the diligent inquiries, of which he speaks in his Preface.

As

author draws up a work many years after he has collected the materials for it, we cannot determine, whether St. Luke wrote his Gospel before he left Judæa, in which case he wrote most probably before St. Matthew, or whether he wrote it after he had left Judæa, in which case he may, or may not, have written after St. Matthew. On the other hand, if it were certain that St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew, and that he wrote even in Judæa, we should have no reason to think it extraordinary, that St. Matthew had no knowledge of St. Luke's Gospel, since it was destined, though ultimately for the church at large, yet immediately for the use of an individual, and therefore was not so publicly known, till some years after it was written.

As St. Luke wrote in Greek, but drew the greatest part of his materials from Hebrew documents, the greatest part of his Gospel contains a translation from the Hebrew; and in translating from the document \aleph he had frequent recourse to the Greek version \aleph , which had been made of this document in its primitive state.

VII. ST. MARK'S GOSPEL.

St. Mark used a copy of the Hebrew document \aleph , which had been enriched by the additions $\alpha + \beta + A + B$. This copy he made the basis of his Gospel, and adhered to it, as St. Luke had done to his copy, even in the arrangement of the facts. But he made no use of the supplemental document γ ; and with the exception to two or three short sections, which are peculiar to his Gospel, the additions, which he himself made, consist in the notation of particular circumstances relative to transactions already recorded. As St. Mark wrote in Greek, but drew his materials from the Hebrew, his Gospel, with the exception of the additions, which he himself made, is a translation, and frequently a paraphrastical translation, from the Hebrew. However in many places he adopted as St. Luke had done, the words of the Greek translation \aleph . But he had no knowledge either of St. Luke's Gospel, or of the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew*.

VIII. GREEK

* If St. Mark the Evangelist, as there is reason to believe, was the person, who is called 'John Mark' in the Acts of the Apostles, it will be objected perhaps, that St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel could not have been unknown to him, because the mother of John Mark not only lived in Jerusalem, but had made her house a place of assembly for the primitive Christians, Acts xii. 12. But before this objection can be of any weight, it must be shewn that St. Mark resided at Jerusalem, or at least in Judæa, after St. Matthew had written his Gospel: for, if he left Judæa before St. Matthew wrote, and did not return thither, he might have seen and have taken with him a copy of the Hebrew document \aleph , and yet never have seen the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew. Now that St. Mark resided at Jerusalem, or even in Judæa, after St. Matthew's Gospel was written, is more than any man can prove. The last place, in which he is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, is ch. xv. 37. 39. where he is described as setting out

VIII. GREEK TRANSLATION OF ST. MATTHEW'S HEBREW GOSPEL.

St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was translated literally † into Greek, and this Greek translation is the Gospel, which occupies the first place in our canon^r. It was not made

from Antioch to accompany Barnabas to the island of Cyprus: but at that time St. Matthew's Gospel was not written, as appears from a preceding note. St. Mark afterwards accompanied St. Peter, and came at last to Rome, where he resided, when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Colossians (Col. iv. 10), and where St. Mark probably wrote his Gospel. But that during the interval, which elapsed between St. Mark's departure from Antioch, in company with Barnabas, and his arrival afterwards in Rome, he passed any time at Jerusalem, is a matter, of which we find no traces in any part of the New Testament. To the supposition therefore that St. Mark had never seen St. Matthew's Gospel no objection can be made on historical ground. And the supposition that he had never seen St. Luke's Gospel can admit of no difficulty, for the reason already assigned in a preceding Note.

† According to the proposed hypothesis therefore St. Matthew's Hebrew original was not merely the basis of our first Greek Gospel, as the assumed Hebrew document is supposed to be the basis of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke. For these two Evangelists, though they translated from a Hebrew document, acted at the same time with the freedom of authors, and treated *their* original as a work, which supplied them only with materials, which they themselves digested, augmented, and improved. St. Matthew's translator on the contrary acted as a *mere* translator, and attempted nothing more than to give a faithful and close copy of his original.

^r Though no one can positively assert, that this is the only Greek translation, which was made of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, there is no ground for asserting the contrary. It is true, that many eminent critics have appealed to the following words of Papias, (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 39.) Ματθαῖος μὲν ἐν Ἑβραϊᾷ διαλέκτῃ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο· ἡρμηνεύσει δ' αὐτὰ, ὡς ἔδυνάτο ἑκάς: and have produced the latter clause as authority, that several translations were made of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel. But, as far as I am able to judge, the words of Papias signify nothing more than, that every one who used St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel (which every man must, who used it at all, before a Greek translation had been made) interpreted it, or made it out, as well as he could. That every man, who used St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, wrote a translation of it is incredible: nor does

made till some time after the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke were written: and both of these Gospels were consulted by the translator*, which he used in the following manner. Wherever St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew, he had no recourse to St. Luke's Gospel†, but in those places he frequently transcribed from that of St. Mark, because St. Mark's Gospel, as well as that of St. Luke, already contained a Greek translation of a great part of the Hebrew materials, which had been incorporated into St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel. On the other hand, where he could derive no assistance from St. Mark's Gospel, or in the places, where St. Luke alone had matter in common with

does the word ἑρμηνεύσε warrant any such conclusion. If Papias had intended to say, that several written translations had been made of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, he would hardly have used the term ἑρμηνεύω, but ἑρμηνεύειαν, or rather μεταφράσιν γράφω: for though ἑρμηνεύω does not exclude the sense of a written translation, it does not, when used alone, imply it. And that Papias did not intend to ascribe to it this sense appears from his applying to it the indefinite term ἱερογλῶσσαι, which excludes the notion of written translations.

‡ The supposition, that the Greek translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel used the Gospels both of St. Mark and of St. Luke, is not at all affected by the arguments, which various writers have alleged, to prove that the Evangelists did not see each other's writings. For these arguments relate to them merely as *authors*, and rest on the principle, that if the one had seen the writings of the other, their Gospels would in many places have been different from what we really find them. But this principle does not apply to a mere *translator*, whose object is to give a faithful copy of his original, and not to attempt an improvement of it, either by alterations or additions from the works of other writers on the same subject. The argument likewise, which I used in ch. viii. against the opinion, that any part of St. Matthew's Gospel was copied from that of St. Mark, applies merely to the *author*, it being there supposed that St. Matthew wrote in Greek.

† As St. Mark had been a constant attendant on St. Peter, who was one of the twelve Apostles, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that St. Matthew's translator preferred St. Mark's Gospel to that of St. Luke's. This is not the only instance of such a preference; for Michaelis himself says, (Vol. III. Ch. v. Sect. 6) that when there is a variation between St. Mark and St. Luke, he would abide by the account of the former.

with St. Matthew, he very frequently adopted the translation, which already existed in St. Luke's Gospel^u.

Such are the steps which may be supposed to have been taken from the first drawing up of the Hebrew document ~~α~~ to the composition of our canonical Gospels. There is no internal improbability attending any one of them: they are neither numerous, nor complicated: they are neither inconsistent with the manners of the first century, nor contradictory to the evidence of real history*. That St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, is asserted by the voice of all antiquity: this part of the hypothesis therefore is confirmed by positive evidence. That St. Mark wrote merely from the preaching of St. Peter is not

^u Whoever thinks it improbable, that the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, if he had been in possession of St. Luke's Gospel, should never have copied from it as long as St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew, may without injuring the rest of the hypothesis make in this part of it the following alteration, and suppose, that he had only an extract from St. Luke's Gospel, containing such parts of it, as were not in the Gospel of St. Mark. And in the explanation of the phenomena observable in the verbal harmony of the Evangelists, wherever I suppose, that the translator used the Gospel of St. Luke, may be substituted by those, who prefer it, the supposition that he used only such an extract.

* Every step, which is here supposed to have been taken, is likewise perfectly consistent with the doctrine of inspiration, not indeed of *verbal* inspiration, but of inspiration, as it is understood by Bishop Warburton and Dr. Whitby. The former in his doctrine of Grace, Book I. Ch. 7. considers the Holy Spirit as having operated on the sacred writers 'by watching over them incessantly, but with so suspended a hand, as permitted the use, and left them to the guidance of their own faculties, while they kept clear of error, and then only interposing, when without this divine assistance they would have been in danger of falling.' With such an inspiration the opinion, that the Evangelists drew a great part of their materials from a written document is perfectly consistent; for if that document contained any thing erroneous, they had the power of detecting and correcting it. Dr. Townson in his Discourses on the Four Gospels (Disc. III. Sect. 5). thinks there is an impropriety in supposing, that St. Matthew, who was an Apostle, made use of what had been written by other persons. But if the documents, which he used, were drawn up from communications made by the Apostles, of whom St. Matthew himself was one, all objections on the score of impropriety must cease.

not history, but a vague report, which confutes itself by the contradictory modes in which it is delivered, and moreover was not credited by all the ancients themselves, or Augustin would not have hazarded the (equally ungrounded) conjecture that St. Mark epitomised St. Matthew. On the other hand it may be admitted, that the knowledge of those numerous *circumstances*, with which St. Mark enriched the document \aleph , was derived from his intercourse with St. Peter: and *so far* the report, that St. Mark wrote from the preaching of St. Peter, may be true. At any rate, whatever was the assistance, which the Apostle afforded him, that assistance does not exclude the use of the document \aleph . That St. Luke wrote from the preaching of St. Paul is likewise a vague report, and is confuted by the preface, which St. Luke himself has prefixed to his Gospel: but this preface is perfectly consistent with our hypothesis, and, if the explanation above given be admitted, it is a confirmation of it. That positive testimony cannot be alleged in favour of every part, can form no ground of objection; and it is sufficient that no part is contradicted by positive testimony. For we are at present concerned, not with a series of facts, of which the truth or falshood is to be determined by the testimonies of ancient writers, (since real history deserts us on this subject), but with a *mere hypothesis*, assumed to explain certain appearances, of which hypothesis the only criterion is its harmony with the appearances themselves. If these are effects, which would necessarily have been produced by the assigned causes, we may argue from the real existence of the effects to the probable existence of the causes; and if we can imagine no other causes, which would have produced these effects, the probability rises to the highest degree. Now whether any other assignable cause would have produced the effects in question, I leave to be determined by what was said in chap. viii—xiv: but that the causes, which I have assigned in ch. xv. would have produced these effects will appear from the following recapitulation of the phænomena arranged according to the four above stated divisions.

C H A P. XVI.

THE PRECEDING HYPOTHESIS TRIED BY THE PHÆ-
NOMENA IN THE VERBAL HARMONY OF THE GOS-
PELS.

THE FIRST DIVISION, CONTAINING \aleph , WITH
THE ADDITIONS α , β , γ .

I. In \aleph .

a). In \aleph , the examples in which all three Gospels verbally coincide are not numerous, and contain in general only one or two, or, at the outside three sentences together, because a verbal coincidence in all three Gospels could not be effected without the co-operation of three distinct causes in the same place, which may reasonably be supposed not to have happened frequently, and, when it happened, to have been of no long duration. Namely, both St. Mark and St. Luke must have copied in that place from \aleph ; and the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel must have copied in that very place from St. Mark^a.

b). The examples of verbal agreement in \aleph between the Greek Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark are numerous and long, because St. Matthew's translator was assisted in his translation by St. Mark's Gospel. That our Greek text of St. Matthew's Gospel does not always literally agree with that of St. Mark, when the two Evangelists have matter in common with each other, but on the contrary that the examples, in which the same thing is related in different words, are more numerous than those,
in

^a In those places therefore, in which all three Gospels verbally agree, they contain the text of one and the same translation, namely, the translation \aleph .

in which the same words are used, was occasioned partly by the circumstance that the Greek translation exhibited in St. Mark's Gospel was frequently too paraphrastical to be adopted by a translator, whose object was to give a literal version, partly because the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel either did not think it necessary at all times to consult St. Mark's Gospel, or did not always observe *where* St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew; since the copies of St. Mark's Gospel at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century had probably no sections or divisions *marked* in them, but were written without distinction in one continued series, and no one thought at that time of writing the Gospels in parallel columns, as later harmonists have done, or of making canons, as Eusebius did in the fourth century by the help of the Ammonian sections, so as to enable the reader to discover in one Gospel the passages, which correspond to those in another.

- c). Hence we may assign the reason, why St. Matthew's Greek text never agrees verbally with that of St. Mark in any of those sections which occupy different places in the two Gospels, viz. in Sect. V. and XI. and in the five successive sections XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. To render this matter more intelligible, it will be necessary to arrange those sections, according to the **order of St. Matthew's Gospel**, because their order in St. Mark's Gospel, according to which all the **XLII.** sections have been arranged in the Table of parallel and coincident passages, was no guide to the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel.

Sect.	St. Matthew.		St. Mark.
6.	VIII. 2—4.	corresponds to	I. 40—45.
5.	- 14—17.	- -	29—34.
15.	- 18—27.	- -	IV. 35—41.
16.	- 28—34.	- -	V. 1—20.
			Sect.

Sect.	St. Matthew.			St. Mark.
7.	IX. 1—8.	corresponds to	II. 1—12.	
8.	- 9—17.	- -	13—22.	
17.	- 18—26.	- -	V. 21—43.	
18.	X. 1—42.	- -	VI. 7—13.	
	XI.			
9.	XII. 1—8.	- -	II. 13—28.	
10.	- 9—15.	- -	III. 1—6.	
12.	- 22—45.	- -	- 20—30.	
13.	- 46—50.	- -	- 31—35.	
14.	XIII. 1—23.	- -	IV. 1—20.	
19.	XIV. 1—12.	- -	VI. 14—29.	
20	13—21.	- -	- 30—44.	

From this representation it is evident that Sect. XV. XVI. also XVII. XVIII. and likewise XIX. have in St. Mark's Gospel a different position from that which they have in St. Matthew's. Further, Sect. V. has a different place, for in St. Mark's Gospel it precedes Sect. VI. but in St. Matthew's Gospel follows it: and Sect. XI. (though not represented in this table) has likewise a different position, for in Section XI. Mark iii. 7—19. corresponds to Matthew iv. 23—25. whereas the former part of Matthew iv. corresponds to the former part of Mark i. In these sections therefore, the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel did not observe *where* St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew, and consequently could not transcribe from him.

The whole will appear more clearly, if we follow the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel from ch. viii. 2. to ch. xiv. 12. In rendering ch. viii. 2—4. he observed that this section corresponded to Mark i. 40—45. and here he retained a great part of the words, which St. Mark had used: but not in rendering ver. 14—17. because the parallel portion in St. Mark's Gospel did not follow, but precede what he had just occupied. Nor did he perceive the portions in St. Mark's Gospel, which are parallel to Matth. viii. 18—27. 28—34. (Sect. XV. XVI.) because they

they follow after an interval of more than two chapters. But in rendering Matth. IX. 1—8. (Sect. VII.) he knew that Mark ii. 1—12. was the corresponding portion, because he had already copied from the latter part of Mark i. and therefore had observed what immediately followed in Mark ii. : and in rendering Matth. IX. 9—17. (Sect. VIII.) he necessarily perceived the corresponding portion, Mark ii. 13—22. because it succeeds without any interruption. Hence these two sections exhibit examples of verbal agreement. On the other hand, when he came to Matth. ix. 18—26. x. 1—42. (Sect. XVII. XVIII.) he did not observe the corresponding portions of St. Mark's Gospel, because these likewise follow after an interval of more than two chapters. Again, in rendering Matth. xii. 1—8. (Sect. IX.) he knew that Mark ii. 23—28. corresponded, because he had already consulted Mark ii. 13—22. and therefore had observed what immediately followed : and in rendering Matth. xii. 9—50. xiii. 1—34. (Sect. X. XII. XIII. XIV.) he necessarily perceived the corresponding portion, Mark iii. 1—35. iv. 1—34. because it follows without interruption. Hence Sect. IX. X. XII., and especially Sect. XIV. exhibit examples of verbal agreement. But when the translator came to Matth. XIV. 1—12. (Sect. XIX.) he again did not perceive that the corresponding portion in St. Mark's Gospel was ch. vi. 14—29. because more than a whole chapter, which corresponded to another part of St. Matthew's Gospel, intervened. However, in Sect. XX. he discovered the corresponding place of St. Mark's Gospel, from which place to the end the sections follow in the same order in both Gospels : and from this place the interruptions in the verbal agreement greatly diminish.

d.) But in no instance throughout all **8** does St. Mark fail to agree verbally with St. Matthew's Greek text, where St. Luke agrees with it, because the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel made no use of St. Luke's Gospel, where he could derive assistance from St. Mark. Consequently, the Greek texts of St. Matthew

Matthew and St. Luke could never coincide in \aleph , except through the medium of St. Mark's Gospel.

- e.) St. Mark and St. Luke have a frequent verbal agreement in \aleph , because both of them made use of the same Greek version $\bar{\aleph}$, and consequently wherever they copied in the same place from $\bar{\aleph}$ they must agree verbally with each other*. But the instances of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke are neither so numerous nor so long as those between St. Mark and St. Matthew, because the former could not be produced without the co-operation of two distinct causes, whereas the latter required the operation of only one cause.
- f.) Hence the examples of verbal agreement in \aleph , between St. Mark and St. Luke, are much inferior in number to the examples of disagreement. Yet on the other hand St. Mark never fails to agree verbally with St. Luke in \aleph , where St. Matthew's Greek text agrees verbally with that of St. Luke, because the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel copied in \aleph from St. Mark only, and not from St. Luke, and therefore St. Mark must already have agreed with St. Luke, before St. Matthew's translator could agree with St. Luke.
- g.) In several of the XLII. general sections, St. Mark agrees verbally in one place with St. Matthew, in another place with St. Luke, and therefore appears at first sight to have copied from both, not because he really did copy from both, but because in the one place the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel copied from St. Mark, and in the other both St. Mark and St. Luke copied from $\bar{\aleph}$.
- h.) St. Matthew's Greek text never agrees in \aleph with that of St. Luke, except where both agree with that of St. Mark, because the translator had no recourse to St. Luke, where St. Mark had matter

* Wherever St. Mark and St. Luke therefore agree verbally in \aleph , their Gospels contain the text of one and the same translation, namely, of the translation $\bar{\aleph}$.

matter in common with St. Matthew. Consequently, throughout all \aleph the Greek translation of St. Matthew's Gospel could harmonize with St. Luke's Gospel through no other means, than through the medium of St. Mark's Gospel, and therefore in those places only, where St. Mark already agreed with St. Luke.

- i.) Hence it follows, that St. Matthew's Greek text can never agree in \aleph , partly with that of St. Mark and partly with that of St. Luke, nor St. Luke's text partly with that of St. Mark and partly with that of St. Matthew, as was just observed of St. Mark's text, because throughout all \aleph St. Matthew's Greek text never agrees verbally with that of St. Luke only.

2. In α the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark often coincide for the same reason as they frequently coincide in \aleph . For the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel copied indiscriminately from St. Mark's Gospel both in \aleph and α , without perceiving any distinction between them. Examples may be seen in Sect. I. XIV. XXI. XXXV. XXXVIII. XLI. But in the longest and the most remarkable of all the additions α (Matth. xiv. 3—12. Mark vi. 17—29.) there is no verbal agreement whatsoever, though the narrative is the same in both Gospels, because this addition is in Sect. XIX. in which section the translator did not copy from St. Mark for the reason already assigned. There are likewise other examples of α , in which the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark are very different, namely,

Matth. xii. 48, 49.	Mark iii. 33, 34 ^r
xiii. 2.	iv. 1.
xiv. 21.	vi. 44.
xvii. 10—12.	ix. 11—13.
xxvii. 1.	xv. 1.
13.	5.
15—18.	6—10.

But

But whoever compares the two texts in these examples will find, that if the first of our Greek Gospels is a *literal* translation from the Hebrew, as is assumed in the present hypothesis, the translator could not well have copied from St. Mark in these examples, because though the matter is the same, the difference between the two Greek texts does not consist *merely* in a variation of single synonymous words. Consequently, in these examples St. Mark's translation was too free, to be adopted by the literal translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel.

3. Among the numerous additions β , St. Mark and St. Luke verbally agree in only one short sentence, (Mark x. 15. Luke xviii. 17. in Sect. XXVI.) because the version \aleph , which they used in common, had been made from the Hebrew document, before any of the additions α , β , &c. had been inserted in the copies of it. Consequently, whenever St. Mark and St. Luke, in translating from their copies of the Hebrew document \aleph , met with any additions β , their Greek translation \aleph deserted them: they were obliged, therefore, to translate for themselves, and hence they produced in the additions β totally different texts. But as there is hardly any rule without an exception, we find one here, which, however, will not be thought sufficient to prove that the cause, on which the rule is here founded, is false, when a probable reason may be assigned for this exception: for when a cause is assigned, and a rule founded on it, no one can argue from one deviation to the falsity of the cause, unless he can shew that a deviation from the rule is inconsistent with the existence of that cause. Now it has been observed above in chap. xi. that the notation \aleph , when applied to the original Hebrew document, must not be taken in so strict a sense, as if the original Hebrew document in no instance contained a sentence more than is found in all *three* Evangelists, for this would imply, not only that not one of the Evangelists, but that none of the transcribers of the Hebrew document had omitted a single sentence, which was contained in it. We may suppose

suppose therefore, without doing any injury to our hypothesis, that the sentence in Sect. XXVI. which we now find only in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, was in the original Hebrew document, but that it was either overlooked by the person, who wrote the copy, which St. Matthew used, or omitted by St. Matthew, or by his translator. And the supposition is so much the more credible, because throughout the whole of Sect. XXVI. the matter, which is common to St. Mark and St. Luke, is contained likewise in St. Matthew, with the exception of this single sentence. But if this sentence was an original part of the Hebrew document, it was contained in the translation \aleph , and St. Mark and St. Luke therefore agree verbally in this verse, as well as in ten other verses of Sect. XXVI. because they, both of them, copied here from their common version. On the other hand, if the sentence was not an original part of the document \aleph , it may have been an addition, made either by St. Mark alone, or by St. Luke alone, but afterwards interpolated from the Gospel of the one into the Gospel of the other by some early transcriber, who imagined that the latter was defective, because it contained that sentence less than the former: and whatever interpolation was made in the second century may be expected to be found in all the manuscripts, which are now extant. It is true, that the verbal agreement of the Evangelists cannot upon the whole be attributed to the alterations of transcribers, as appears from what was said in the latter part of ch. 10.: but that they really did interpolate in some cases is a fact, which is not to be denied. Thus in Mark vi. 11. the passage *Αμην λεγω υμιν ανεκ-
τολερον εσαι Σοδομοις και Γομορροις εν ημερα κρισεως, η τη
πολει εκεινη*, is undoubtedly an interpolation from St. Luke's Gospel, ch. x. 12. and is therefore rejected from Griesbach's text*. But wherever a passage pe-
culiar

* This is the reason why no notice was taken of it in the Table of parallel and coincident passages.

cular to St. Luke's Gospel was interpolated in St. Mark's, or a passage peculiar to St. Mark's Gospel was interpolated in St. Luke's, the passage, though in this manner become common to St. Mark and St. Luke, was not one of those, which the Evangelists derived from the additions β in their copies of the Hebrew document. Since therefore several causes of deviation from the general rule might so easily have operated, it is surely allowable to suppose that one of them (and which of them is immaterial to the hypothesis) operated in the case in question. In fact, where the examples, which constitute a rule, are numerous, and more than one cause *may* have operated in producing an exception to that rule, there is more reason to expect, that one of the causes *did* operate, than the contrary. We may argue here on the same ground, as when the question relates to the identity and diversity of Greek manuscripts: for in the same manner as the argument in favour of the identity of MSS. drawn from a general and remarkable similarity in two different collations cannot be destroyed by one or two discordances, so the argument founded on St. Mark's and St. Luke's general discordance in β cannot be confuted by one example of coincidence. To place the matter in another light, suppose it were an historical fact attested by good authority, that St. Mark and St. Luke made use of a Greek translation of a Hebrew document \aleph , but that this translation did not contain any of the additions α , β , &c. In that case, as well as in the present, the rule would be, that the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke must in the additions β have in general a different text. But if in any one instance a sentence of \aleph , in which both St. Mark and St. Luke had copied from their Greek translations, was omitted in St. Matthew's Gospel, or a passage originally peculiar to St. Mark was interpolated in St. Luke's Gospel, or vice versa, an exception to the rule would necessarily take place: yet this exception would not annul the historical evidence in favour
of

of the fact, on which that rule was founded. Now, whether we acquire our knowledge of a fact by reading it in the works of ancient authors, or whether we acquire it by the deductions of reason, a deviation, which would not stagger our belief in the one case, ought not to stagger it in the other. It is true, that we may argue fallily in the latter case, as an historian may give us false information in the former. The only question therefore is, whether there is reason to believe, that the hypothesis here delivered is true: a question, which must be determined by the general harmony of the hypothesis with the phænomena to be explained. If *all* the phænomena can be explained by it, it is sufficient: and we must not expect to find no irregularity in any one phænomenon, since no general law can wholly exclude the interposition of disturbing powers.

4. The additions γ, which are peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke, afford examples of a remarkable verbal coincidence, because where the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel came to any one of these additions, St. Mark's Gospel deserted him; and where he could derive no assistance from St. Mark's Gospel, he consulted that of St. Luke. Thus in Sect. I. (Matth. iii. 1—12. Mark i. 2—8. Luke iii. 1—18.) which relates to John the Baptist, St. Mark's account is much shorter than that, either of St. Matthew, or of St. Luke, for John's address to the Pharisees and Sadducees, which in St. Matthew's Gospel takes up six verses, and in St. Luke's Gospel still more, takes up only two verses in St. Mark's Gospel. Here therefore St. Matthew's translator could not derive much assistance from St. Mark. Consequently, after having copied from St. Mark in two verses in the former part of the section, namely, in Matth. iii. 6. he had recourse to St. Luke, when he came to ver. 7, 8, 9, 10: and throughout these four verses he retained all the words of St. Luke, except

that in ver. 8. he substituted *δοξή* for *αρχησθε*². When he came to ver. 11. St. Mark had again matter in common with St. Matthew: but in this verse, though St. Mark and St. Luke verbally agree, the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel did not wholly retain the words of either, for both St. Mark and St. Luke use the proverb *ἵκαν' λυσαι τον ἱμαν'α των ὑποδηματων*, for which St. Matthew must have substituted a different one, though one of similar import, since the Greek translator has *ἱκανος τα ὑποδημα'α βασαι*. Again at ver. 12. St. Luke alone has matter in common with St. Matthew: and in this verse both Gospels, as in ver. 7—10. have the same text.

In like manner we may trace the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, sometimes copying from St. Mark, where St. Mark had the same matter, and St. Mark's translation suited his purpose, at other times, where St. Mark deserted him, copying from St. Luke, as far as St. Luke had matter in common with St. Matthew. And there is no necessity for supposing that the translator made an accurate collation of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, and that he noted in the latter the passages, which were not contained in the former; for he had nothing more to do, than to observe during his translation, how far St. Mark's Gospel continued to have the same matter with St. Matthew's, and in whatever section the former had less than the latter, to look into St. Luke's Gospel. In the additions 1, which will be examined under the Fourth Division, the

² It is not impossible that the Greek translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel wrote *αρχησθε*, and that *δοξητε* is an accidental exchange made by transcribers, as it is very easy to confound these words, when they are written in capitals. For *μη αρχησθε λεγειν* is much more consonant to the general style of the New Testament and LXX. writers than *μη δοξητε λεγειν*. On the other hand, if *δοξητε* be genuine, we may suppose that the Hebrew text was *דוּחַלְו לְרַבֵּר*, and that as *לֵא* in Hiphil, signifies 'voluit,' as well as 'inceptit,' St. Matthew's translator preferred the former sense, though St. Luke had adopted the latter.

the translator made very considerable use of St. Luke's Gospel: but in the insertions γ , with which we are at present concerned, he had not an opportunity of making such frequent use of St. Luke's Gospel; for if we reckon only such insertions γ , as constitute a whole sentence, I have observed only four throughout the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, namely two in Sect. I. one in Sect. III. and one in Sect. XXXI.: in all of which, however, the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke have a verbal coincidence.

SECOND DIVISION: CONTAINING THE ADDITIONS A.

In A, St. Matthew's Greek text has a frequent verbal agreement with that of St. Mark, for the same reason that the two texts frequently coincide in κ and α . Thus among the sections, which form the additions A, Sect. I. IV. V. VI. present long examples of close verbal agreement: but in the two intermediate sections II. III. there is no verbal agreement whatsoever, the reason of which, however, is very easy to be assigned. For in Sect. II. which relates to the parable of the grain of mustard-seed, and in St. Mark's Gospel takes up only three verses^b, ch. iv. 30—32. and in St. Matthew's Gospel only two^c, ch. xiii. 31, 32. the *form* in

^b Eichhorn (Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 922), refers to this section the parable of the leaven, but this parable is not in St. Mark's Gospel.

^c Matth. xiii. 33. contains the parable of the leaven, which is peculiar to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, who have here a verbal coincidence. See the Table of parallel and coincident passages, Sect. IX. Fourth Division. In ver. 34. St. Matthew has an observation in common with St. Mark, ch. iv. 33, 34. in which they agree in one expression, *χωρίς παραβολῆς ἢ κ' ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς*. But what follows from ver. 33. to the end of the chapter, is related by St. Matthew alone.

in which St. Mark has given the parable is too different from that, in which it appears in St. Matthew's Gospel, to have been adopted by a literal translator. And Sect. III. which contains Matth. xiii. 54—58. Mark vi. 1—6. is an insertion between the 17th and 18th of the general sections^d, both of which were transposed by St. Matthew, and with them the intermediate portion. St. Matthew's translator, therefore, did not observe this portion in St. Mark's Gospel: and indeed, if he had, he could not have copied much from St. Mark, because there is some difference even in the matter.

THIRD DIVISION: CONTAINING THE ADDITIONS B.

In B the relation, which St. Mark and St. Luke bear to each other in respect to verbal agreement is very different from that, which they bear to each other in α , and is similar to that, which they bear to each other in β , because their Greek version $\bar{\alpha}$ did not contain the additions β and B. Consequently in B, as well as in β , their translations from their copies of the Hebrew document had no connexion with each other, as they had in α , and therefore they exhibit different texts. It is true, that there is one exception in B, as was observed above in respect to β : for in Sect. I. (the only one of the sections belonging to the Third Division, which exhibits any instance of verbal agreement) Mark i. 24. 25. has a close verbal agreement with Luke iv. 34, 35. though in all the rest of the section, as well in what precedes, as what follows the coincident passage, the same thing is related by the two Evangelists

^d Sect. XVII. in St. Mark's Gospel, ends with ch. v. 43. and Sect. XVIII. begins with ch. vii. 7. The addition, therefore, ch. vii. 1—6. had been made between those two sections.

lifts in different words*. The cause of this single exception to the general rule, that St. Mark and St. Luke do not verbally agree in B, is more difficult to be assigned, than the cause of the exception in β . At least we cannot well suppose, that Sect. I. of the Third Division was an original part of α : for since it includes Mark i. 21—28. Luke iv. 31—37. it is too long to admit the supposition of it's omission in St. Matthew's Gospel, if St. Matthew's document had contained it. I can assign, therefore, no other cause^f, than that transcribers have in this passage altered one Gospel from the other: and we may really trace in the MSS. which are still extant, deviations, which render it not improbable that the two texts in this passage were originally not so similar as they are at present. Thus, the word *Εα*, with which the passage now begins in both Gospels, is not improbably an interpolation in St. Mark's Gospel,

* In Eichhorn's Allgem. Bibl. Vol. V. p. 757—760. is given a complete analysis of this section.

^f Perhaps it will be thought unnecessary to seek a particular cause of the verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke in this passage, because, though two independent translators, and especially translators of a different description, like St. Mark and St. Luke, cannot verbally agree for many sentences together, they may agree in a single passage, if the words of the original in that passage are familiar, and the construction plain and easy. The passage in question is: *Εα, τι ἡμῖν καὶ σοι, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρενῆ; ἡλθες ἀπολεσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδα σε τίς εἰ, ὁ ἄγιος τῆς Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπετιμήσεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λεγών, φημιθετί, καὶ ἐξῆλθε ἐξ αὐτῆς.* Now whether the words and the construction of this text are such, as will warrant the supposition, that it was produced by two independent translators, who have very differently rendered both the preceding and the following part of the narrative, is a question, which I will neither absolutely affirm, nor absolutely deny. But the affirmative appears at least to be improbable: and therefore it is not unreasonable to conclude, that the verbal harmony between St. Mark and St. Luke in this instance, as it forms an exception to the general rule, 'that they do not agree verbally in the sections B,' was effected by the intervention of some particular cause, which has not operated in any other part of these sections. At any rate, however, this exception will hardly be thought sufficient to destroy the general hypothesis, since a cause of it may be assigned.

Gospel, as appears from the good authorities, which reject it: instead of *οἶδα*, Origen and other Greek fathers quote *οἶδαμεν* from St. Mark: and at the end of the passage in St. Luke's Gospel *απ' αὐτοῦ* has a better claim to authenticity, than the common reading *ἐξ αὐτοῦ*.

FOURTH DIVISION: CONTAINING THE ADDITIONS Γ.

In the additions Γ, the relation, which the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke bear to each other, is very different from that, which they bear to each other in *κ*, and is similar to that, which they bear to each other in *γ*, because, though the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel made no use of St. Luke's Gospel, where St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew, he made very material use of it in the places, where St. Mark had no matter in common with St. Matthew. Hence in the sections, which are peculiar to St. Matthew and Luke, we find a very frequent and close verbal coincidence, as may be seen on turning to the examples produced in the Fourth Division.

As the additions Γ are of two kinds, Γ¹ and Γ², that is, additions, which have correspondent places, and additions, which have not correspondent places, in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, it will be objected perhaps, that there is an inconsistency in ascribing the verbal agreement between the Greek texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke in Γ² to a verbal transcription from St. Luke's Gospel by St. Matthew's translator, since the phenomenon 'that St. Matthew's Greek text never agrees verbally with that of St. Mark in any of those sections of *κ*, which have not correspondent places in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark,' has been explained on the supposition, that St. Matthew's translator did not observe in what parts of St. Mark's Gospel

Gospel those sections were contained. For, if he did not observe in what parts of St. Mark's Gospel such transposed sections of \aleph were contained, it may be said that there is an improbability in supposing, that he observed in what parts of St. Luke's Gospel the sections Γ^2 were contained. But this improbability and inconsistency is only apparent, as will be seen on a more minute examination of the subject. In the first place, St. Matthew's translator made *continued* use of St. Mark's Gospel throughout the whole of his translation, whereas he had recourse to that of St. Luke in the translation only of *detached parts* of St. Matthew's Gospel, namely in those detached parts, in which St. Mark ceased to have matter in common with St. Matthew. This very circumstance rendered it necessary, that he should bestow more pains in seeking for those sections of St. Luke's Gospel, which St. Luke alone had in common with St. Matthew, than in seeking for the matter, which St. Mark had in common with St. Matthew. And since he followed St. Mark in regular order, it did not occur to him, when he came to a section of St. Matthew's Gospel, which was not in the corresponding place of St. Mark's Gospel, to seek for that section in another part of it. But the case was very different in respect to St. Luke's Gospel, which he did not follow in regular order, which he consulted only for detached sections; and therefore he well knew that more labour was requisite in order to discover them. Secondly, the difficulty of discovering the sections Γ^2 in St. Luke's Gospel was greatly diminished by the circumstance, that, though they are scattered in various parts of St. Matthew's Gospel, yet eight of them, Sect. III. IV. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI. are not only contained in the portion, Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. but are confined within a certain part of that portion, ch. ix. 57—xiii. 35. The discovery therefore of any one of these sections facilitated the discovery of the rest. And in Sect. V. the only remaining one of the sections Γ^2 , in which there is a verbal agreement, the place, which

which it occupied in St. Luke's Gospel, could not escape the notice of St. Matthew's translator, though it is in Luke vii. 18—35. because, before he came to Sect. V. he had already in Sect. II. (which is one of the sections Γ') copied from the former part of Luke vii. and therefore had observed what followed that place in St. Luke's Gospel. On the other hand, in Sect. XII. the last, and one of the longest of the sections peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke, there was nothing, which particularly led to the discovery of it in St. Luke's Gospel, for it is contained in ch. xix. 11—28. and is at a considerable distance from any of those passages, in which St. Matthew's translator had used the Gospel of St. Luke. Accordingly in this section we find in the Greek Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke two very different texts.

With respect to the sections Γ^s, which are only two in number, Sect. I. and II. no difficulty could take place, as they occupy correspondent places in both Gospels^s. It is true, that in Sect. I. which properly contains only Luke vi. 20—49. (this portion of St. Luke's Gospel being all that St. Luke has, *in connexion*, of the sermon on the mount), and Matth. v. vi. vii. we find a verbal coincidence, not only with several correspondent passages of Luke vi. 20—49. but likewise with some passages in Luke xi. xii. and with one passage in Luke xvi. 13. Now we have already seen that St. Matthew's translator particularly consulted that portion of St. Luke's Gospel, in which these chapters are contained, and therefore it is not extraordinary that among the many sentences, which are contained in various parts of that portion as well as in Matth. v. vi. vii. some few of them should have been observed by St. Matthew's translator^h.

Thus

^s See the latter part of Ch. XI. Note *m*.

^h Beside the precepts and doctrines delivered in Matth. v. vi. vii. which are contained likewise in the correspondent part of St. Luke's Gospel, ch. vi. 20—49. there are thirty verses of Matth. v. vi. vii. which are scattered in various parts of the long portion Luke ix. 51—xviii.

Thus far the verbal harmony of our three first Gospels has been explained. With respect to the examples, in which the same facts are related in different but synonymous terms, which are more numerous than the examples, in which the same words are used, the explanation of them is so obvious from what has been already said, that it is almost unnecessary to enter into a particular detail of them. Wherever Greek writers, who translate from the same Hebrew original, make their translations themselves, or without any foreign aid, that is, without either copying the one from the other, or jointly transcribing from some version already made, they will of course produce Greek texts, which agree in a synonymy, but not a sameness of expression. Hence St. Mark and St. Luke, in β and B, as in these additions and sections they were under the necessity of translating for themselves, exhibit two Greek texts, which agree in sense and in form, but differ in words. The same effect was likewise produced in \aleph , except when both of them had recourse to their common version $\bar{\aleph}$ in the same place. In like manner, the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, who had no recourse to St. Luke's Gospel, as long as he could derive assistance from St. Mark, has produced throughout all \aleph a different Greek text from that of St. Luke, except where an agreement was occasioned by the intervention of St. Mark's Gospel. And his Greek text is frequently different from that of St. Mark also, because he either did not, or could not at all times, for reasons already assigned, make use of St. Mark's Gospel.

To quote the examples, in which the same things are related in different words, in the same manner as the examples of verbal agreement have been exhibited in the preceding Table, is unnecessary, because all the passages,

—xviii. 14. But they are confined within a certain part of it, ch. xi. 2.—xvi. 18.: and of these thirty verses, there are only nine, which have a verbal agreement. The rest were either overlooked by St. Matthew's translator, or they did not suit his purpose, which was to give a literal translation of his original.

passages, which are common to any two, or to all three of the Evangelists, and do not appear in that Table, may be considered as examples of the former kind. And that in general the examples of this description are such, as *might*, and probably *would*, have resulted from a diversity of translation from the same Hebrew original, which is all that is required in the examination of an hypothesis, is a matter, which no one, who has read what Eichhorn and Bolten¹ have written on this subject, will deny.

CH A P. XVII.

THE PRECEDING HYPOTHESIS TRIED BY THE PHÆNOMENA IN THE CONTENTS AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE GOSPELS.

IT appears then, that the phænomena of every description in the verbal agreement and disagreement of the Evangelists may be solved by the proposed hypothesis. Consequently, it remains only, that we examine, whether the phænomena in the contents and the arrangement of the Gospels are likewise capable of being solved by it.

To begin with St. Mark, whose Gospel has hitherto been a subject of great controversy. One of the most remarkable phænomena relative to the contents of St. Mark's Gospel is, that if we except the addition of single circumstances, with which St. Mark has frequently enriched the narrative common to all three Evangelists, there are not more than twenty-four verses in his whole Gospel,

¹ The former in the Essay above quoted, sect. 23: the latter in the Notes to his German translation of our three first Gospels. If Eichhorn had paid the same attention to the examples of verbal agreement, as to the examples of verbal disagreement, he would probably have left little to have been performed by the author of this dissertation.

Gospel, which contain facts, that are not recorded either by St. Matthew or by St. Luke^{*}: whence it has been supposed that St. Mark used the Gospels both of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and that he selected from them such facts, as he thought proper to relate in his own Gospel; since, unless these Gospels had served as guides to St. Mark, it would not have been in his power, as is supposed, to select out of the great number of facts, which the life of Christ presented, those only, which St. Matthew or St. Luke had recorded. But the present hypothesis accounts for this phenomenon full as well, as the supposition that St. Mark used the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke: for the copy of the Hebrew document, which was the basis of St. Mark's Gospel was $\aleph + \alpha + \beta + A + B$, and this copy contained nothing, but what was contained either in $\aleph + \alpha + \gamma + A + \Gamma'$, the copy used by St. Matthew, or in $\aleph + \beta + \gamma + B + \Gamma'$, the copy used by St. Luke. And since the phenomena in the verbal agreement of St. Mark and St. Luke are incompatible with the supposition that the one used the Gospel of the other¹, the present hypothesis not only may, but must be adopted to explain the phenomenon in question.

Another phenomenon in St. Mark's Gospel is, that he has placed all the facts, which he has in common both with St. Matthew and with St. Luke, precisely in the same order as St. Luke has placed them^m, which has afforded another argument for the opinion, either that St. Mark copied from St. Luke, or St. Luke from St. Mark. Now these two Evangelists agree throughout in the arrangement of their facts, not because the one copied from the other, but because both St. Mark and

^{*} Comment. Theol. Tom. I. p. 382—384.

¹ See Ch. viii.

^m See the Catalogue of the XLII. general sections, given above in Ch. v. where it appears that they regularly follow without any inversions in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, though not in that of St. Matthew.

and St. Luke, according to the proposed hypothesis, retained the facts, in the same order, in which they found them in their common Hebrew document: whereas St. Matthew has in several sections a different arrangement, because he made several transpositions.

The passages, which St. Mark and St. Luke only have in common with each other, whether they are the smaller insertions β , or the larger editions B, occupy likewise correspondent places in the two Gospels, because these passages had been added in their copies of the common Hebrew document, and were retained by St. Mark and St. Luke without any alteration in their position.

The passages, which St. Matthew and St. Mark only have in common with each other, whether they are the smaller insertions α , or the larger additions A, have in both Gospels, except in one instance, the same position, because these passages had been added in their copies of the common Hebrew document: the position of which St. Mark every where retained, and St. Matthew likewise, except in one instance. This instance is Sect. III. of the Second Division, Matth. xiii. 54—58. Mark vi. 1—6.: an addition, which had been made in the Hebrew document \aleph between Sect. XVII. and Sect. XVIII. of the general Sections: for Sect. XVII. contains Mark v. 21—43. and Sect. XVIII. Mark vi. 7—13. Now both Sect. XVII. and Sect. XVIII. were transposed by St. Matthew; and therefore it is not extraordinary that a transposition of the intermediate addition likewise took place.

Of the passages, which St. Luke has in common with St. Matthew only, some occupy correspondent places in the two Gospels, as the additions γ and Γ^1 , while others, namely the additions Γ^2 are inserted in places, which do not correspond to each other. The additions γ have the same position in the two Gospels, because they were augmentations of certain sections of \aleph , and therefore like α and β , could not have been removed from those sections, without destroying the connexion.

The

The sections Γ', which are only two in number, the sermon on the mount, Matth. v. vi. vii. Luke vi. 20—49. and the cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum, Matth. viii. 5—13. Luke vii. 1—10. had been likewise inserted in the copies of the Hebrew document 8, which were used by St. Matthew and St. Luke: and hence both of these sections occupy at least the same relative position in both Gospels. For in both Gospels the sermon on the mount immediately follows Sect. XI. of the general sections, which includes Matth. iv. 23—25. Luke vi. 12—19: and the cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum follows in both Gospels the sermon on the mount, in St. Luke's Gospel without any interruption, and in St. Matthew's Gospel with the interval of only four verses, Matth. viii. 1—4. which interval was occasioned by the circumstance, that Matth. viii. 1—4. is one of the sections, that St. Matthew transposed. But the sermon recorded by St. Luke takes up only thirty verses, whereas the sermon recorded by St. Matthew takes up above an hundred, because St. Luke inserted the sermon as he found itⁿ in his copy of the document 8, but St. Matthew made very considerable additions, a great part of which he derived from his copy of the Γνωμολογια, or supplemental document 2. For the substance of the Γνωμολογια, according to the proposed hypothesis, was inserted by St. Luke, with the exception of a discourse and a parable, in ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14.: and a great number of the precepts, which St. Matthew has in ch. v. vi. vii. in addition to what St. Luke has in ch. vi. 20—49. are contained in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. Further, St. Matthew not only made considerable additions, but arranged the precepts in a different order, and thus gave to the sermon a different form

ⁿ There are two passages in Luke vi. 20—49. namely, ver. 24—26. ver. 39, 40. which are not in Matth. v—vii. These two passages were probably contained in St. Luke's copy, but not in St. Matthew's. Or perhaps St. Luke added them himself from other information.

form from that which it has in St. Luke's Gospel^p. However, what deserves particularly to be noticed, both Evangelists begin the sermon with the same precept, μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, and end with the same parable, namely, a comparison of a man, who built his house on a rock, with him, who hears and performs the word of God, and of a man, who built his house on the sand, with him, who hears the word of God, but does not perform it. Both St. Matthew and St. Luke therefore have recorded the same sermon, though St. Mathew has dilated it by the insertion of many precepts which St. Luke did not insert in it^p.

The

* The following Table represents the passages of Matth. v. vi. vii. which are contained partly in Luke vi. 20—49. and partly in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14.

Matth. v. 3—6.	Luke vi. 20, 21.
11, 12.	22. 23.
15.	xi. 33.
18.	xvi. 17.
25, 26.	xii. 58, 59.
32.	xvi. 18.
39—42.	vi. 29, 30.
44.	27, 28.
45.	35.
46, 47.	32, 33.
48.	36.
vi. 9—13.	xi. 2—4.
19—21.	xii. 33, 34.
22, 23.	xi. 34—36.
24.	xvi. 13.
25—35.	xii. 22—31.
vii. 1—5.	vi. 37—42.
7—11.	xi. 9—13.
12.	vi. 31.
13.	xiii. 24.
16—21.	vi. 43—46.
22, 23.	xiii. 25—27.
24—27.	vi. 47—49.

^p The preceding representation of the origin of the sermon on the mount, in St. Matthew's Gospel is very consistent with the opinion of of several modern critics, (see especially Pott de natura atque indole orationis

The sections Γ², all of which, without exception, contain precepts, discourses, or parables, were derived both by St. Matthew and by St. Luke from the Γνωμολογία; and hence all these sections occupy different places in the two Gospels, because St. Matthew and St. Luke, who had no knowledge of each other's writings, used it in a different manner. A great number of precepts contained in it were transferred by St. Matthew, as has been already observed, to the Sermon on the mount. The discourses and parables, which he found in it, he inserted in parts of the following chapters of his Gospel, ix. x. xi. xiii †. xviii. xxii. xxiii. xxiv. xxv. having regard probably to the times, and to the occasions, on which those discourses and parables were delivered. But St. Luke, who had not, like St. Matthew, been present at their delivery, had no other means of determining their chronological order, than the internal notes of time, which were discernible in the discourses themselves, or in the facts, which gave rise to them, since, according to the proposed hypothesis, though many of the facts, which gave rise to the discourses and parables, were noticed in the Γνωμολογία, the whole was arranged without any regard to chronological order, the Γνωμολογία being a collection, which was gradually formed by continual

orationis montanæ, Helmstadii 1788, 4to.) that the sermon on the mount, as pronounced by Christ, had not that form and extent, which we find in the sermon recorded by St. Matthew: and that St. Matthew himself, in order to give a general and comprehensive view of Christ's moral doctrines, inserted in it many precepts, which had been delivered on various other occasions. On the other hand, it is not inconsistent with the contrary opinion, which has been hitherto the commonly received one, for Christ's sermon may have been imperfectly recorded in the document α, many of the precepts there omitted may have been inserted in various places of the Γνωμολογία, or document β, and St. Matthew may have done nothing more than restore them to the place, to which they properly belonged, while St. Luke, who was not a hearer of Christ, may have left them where he found them, because he did not know that they belonged to the sermon on the mount.

† Matth. xiii. 3—52. contains a collection of parables, of which the two delivered in ver. 31—33. were taken from the Γνωμολογία. St. Luke has them in Ch. xiii. 18—21.

tinual accessions of new matter, as new communications were made by the Apostles, and other immediate disciples of Christ^p. Accordingly St. Luke, with exception to a discourse and a parable, both of which have internal notes of time^q, retained the precepts, parables and discourses, which had been recorded in the Γνωμολογια in the collection, in which he found them. He gave however to the whole the form of a narrative, in order to make it correspond with the rest of his Gospel, which was not a collection of unconnected facts, but a continued history. The portion of St. Luke's Gospel, which his recension of the Γνωμολογια occupies, is ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14. a portion^r, which commences with Christ's preparation to depart from Galilee, to go for the last time to Jerusalem, and ends before his arrival at Jericho. For in ch. ix. 51. 52. St. Luke says that Christ was preparing to go to Jerusalem, and for that purpose sent messengers to Samaria: in ch. xviii. 35. he says that Christ was approaching toward Jericho, and in ch. xix. 1. that he arrived there. Consequently all the precepts, parables, and discourses, which St. Luke has recorded in ch.

^p The grand object of inquiry was, *what* doctrines Christ had taught; the *time*, at which they were taught, was an inferior consideration.

^q These will be examined in the next paragraph.

^r This portion, which contains more than eight successive chapters, particularly distinguishes itself from the rest of St. Luke's Gospel, not only by its consisting chiefly of discourses, whereas the rest of St. Luke's Gospel consists chiefly of facts, but likewise by another circumstance. Namely, from Sect. I. to Sect. XXV. of the general sections, St. Mark and St. Luke agree in a series of facts, which they relate in the same order: and Sect. XXV. if we include the addition to it, which St. Mark and St. Luke have, but not St. Matthew, extends to Mark ix. 41. Luke ix. 50. Here all connexion between the two Gospels ceases, and does not re-commence before Luke xviii. 15, &c. which corresponds to Mark x. 13, &c. and is Sect. XXVI. of the general sections, from which place to the end of their Gospels St. Mark and St. Luke agree again in a series of facts, which they relate in the same order. Further, if we deduct the whole of Luke ix. 51.—xviii. 14. the narrative in St. Luke's Gospel does not appear to have any interruption: for Ch. xviii. 15, &c. connects very well with Ch. ix. 17—50. but it has no connection whatever with Ch. xviii. 1—14.

ch. ix. 51.—xviii. 14., are by their position in St. Luke's Gospel represented as delivered in the interval, which elapsed between Christ's preparation to depart from Galilee, and his arrival at Jericho *: and it is probable, that many of them were delivered in that interval, that St. Luke knew that they were, and that on this account he chose that particular part of his Gospel for the insertion of the substance of the *Γνωμολογία*. But that some of the discourses and parables, which are recorded in St. Luke ix. 51.—xviii. 14. were delivered by Christ long before he left Galilee to go for the last time to Jerusalem, and that others were delivered after Christ had passed through Jericho, is certain. For instance, the woe denounced to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum †, which St. Luke has in ch. x. 13—15. was spoken by Christ even before the death of John the Baptist, and consequently some time before Christ's departure from Galilee: for St. Matthew has not only recorded it in ch. xi. immediately after John's Message to Christ, but has expressly said that Christ at that very time ‡ denounced woe to the cities in which he had performed the greatest number of miracles. Likewise Christ's censure of certain persons, who required of him a sign §, which St. Luke has in ch. xi. 24—32. was delivered some time before his departure from Galilee: for St. Matthew, after having recorded this censure in ch. xii. 38—45. says expressly ch. xiii. 1. that Christ went on *that very day* to the sea side ¶, that is, to the coast of the sea of Tiberias, or the lake of Genesareth. On the other hand,

* Hence Eichhorn supposes (Alegem. Bibl. Vol. 5. p. 992. 995.) that the portion Luke ix. 51.—xviii. 14. was taken from a document, which contained an account of Christ's principal actions and discourses on his last journey to Jerusalem.

† Sect. VI. of the Fourth Division.

‡ Matth. xi. 20. 21. Τότε ηξάτο ονειδίζειν τὰς πόλεις, ἐν αἷς ἐγένοντο αἰ πλεῖσαι δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐ μετενόησαν. Οὐαὶ σοὶ Χορὰζιν κ.τ.λ.

§ Sect. VIII. of the Fourth Division.

¶ Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐξελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας, ἐκαθίστο πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν.

hand, Christ's lamentation over the future fate of Jerusalem^x, which St. Luke has in ch. xiii. 34. 35. was uttered after Christ's arrival in Jerusalem: for St. Matthew has not only recorded it in ch. xxiii. 37—39. after he had related Christ's arrival in Jerusalem^y, but says expressly that this lamentation was made in the temple^z. And the parable of the faithful and unfaithful servants^a, which St. Luke has in ch. xii. 42—48. was delivered by Christ while he was standing without the temple^b: for St. Matthew has recorded it in ch. xxiv. 45—51. as delivered by Christ immediately after his prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, with the view of exhorting his disciples to prepare themselves against the expected day. In like manner it may be shewn by the aid of St. Matthew's Gospel that several other discourses of Christ, which St. Luke has recorded in ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14. were not delivered in the interval which elapsed between Christ's last departure from Galilee and his arrival in Jericho: but, like the four just mentioned, they are not accompanied in St. Luke's Gospel, and consequently were not accompanied in the document, from which St. Luke derived them, by any such clear and distinct facts, as could lead to the discovery of the real time, in which they were delivered. It is remarkable, that throughout the whole of that long portion Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. not one of the places, in which the parables and discourses were delivered, are mentioned

^x Sect. X. of the Fourth Division.

^y Ch. xxi.

^z In ch. xxi. 12. St. Matthew relates that Christ entered into the temple; and that all the discourses recorded in ch. xxi. xxii. xxiii. were delivered *in* the temple appears from what St. Matthew says in Ch. xxiv. 1. *καὶ ἐξελθὼν ὁ ἰησοῦς ἐπορεύετο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.*

^a Sect. XI. of the Fourth Division.

^b In Ch. xxiv. 1. 2. St. Matthew, after having said that Christ went out of the temple, adds, *καὶ προσελθὼν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιδειξάιναι αὐτῷ τὰς οἰκοδομὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ.* Ὁ δὲ ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς. Here begins Christ's prophecy of the destruction of the temple and of the city of Jerusalem.

mentioned *by name*: for in the few instances, in which places are mentioned at all, they are mentioned in indefinite terms. Thus ch. ix. 52. εισηλθεν εις κωμην Σαμαρειτων. ch. x. 38. εισηλθεν εις κωμην τινα. ch. xi. 1. εν τω ειναι αυτον εν τοπω τινι. ch. xvii. 12. εισερχομενς αυτς εις τινα κωμην. This is perfectly consistent with the supposition that St. Luke derived from a Γνωμολογια the precepts, parables, and discourses, which he has recorded in ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14.: for in a work of that kind the names of places, which are of importance in a narrative, were an inferior consideration. But the indefinite manner, in which places were mentioned in the Γνωμολογια, was one of the principal causes, which prevented St. Luke from discovering the time, in which many of the discourses were delivered. For instance, if he had known the name of the village, of which he speaks in ch. x. 38. he would have known that the discourse of Christ, which he there relates, was delivered after Christ had passed Jericho on his way to Jerusalem. For we know from St. John's Gospel, though St. Luke did not, that this place was Bethany^b, which lay much nearer to Jerusalem than Jericho did.

But St. Luke separated from the collection one discourse and one parable, and placed the former in ch. vii. 19—35. the latter in ch. xix. 11—28. because they were accompanied by such facts, as clearly shewed that the one belonged to a part of his Gospel, which preceded ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14. the other to a part of his Gospel, which followed that portion. The discourse is that which was delivered by Christ on the message of John the Baptist^c: and as St. Luke in ch. ix. 9. has described John the Baptist as already dead, we perceive the reason, why he inserted a discourse, which was delivered while John was living, in the preceding part

^b St. Luke in Ch. x. 38, 39. after having said αυτος εισηλθεν εις κωμην τινα, adds that Christ entered the house of Martha, who had a sister called Mary. Now in John xi. 1. Bethany is expressly called κωμη Μαρίας και Μαρθης της αδελφης αυτης.

^c Sect. V. of the Fourth Division.

part of his Gospel. But he did not know the precise time, when John sent the message to Christ, and hence the place, which he assigned to it in his Gospel, does not correspond to the place, which St. Matthew assigned to it. For according to St. Matthew, who, as being an Apostle, certainly knew the exact time, this message with Christ's discourse on it was delivered *after* Christ had sent out the twelve Apostles^d, but according to St. Luke, *before* Christ sent out the Apostles^e. However, it is not difficult to assign the motive, which induced St. Luke to insert it particularly in ch. vii. 19—35. For his account of Christ's restoring to life the widow's son at Nain closes in ver. 17, 18. of this chapter with the following words, *καὶ ἐξήλθεν ὁ λόγος ἕτος ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ περιχωρῷ· καὶ ἀπηγγείλαν Ἰωάννη οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ περὶ πάντων τούτων*. Consequently this appeared to be a very proper place for the introduction of John's message to Christ, and Christ's discourse on it. The parable, which St. Luke separated from the collection, and placed in ch. xix. 11—28. is that of a prince, who travelled into a distant country: and his reason for making this separation, and placing the parable after the long portion, ch. ix. 51—xviii. 14. was, that it was delivered, as St. Luke himself knew, after Christ had passed Jericho^f. Consequently St. Luke knew, that this parable could not belong to a portion of his Gospel, which ended before Christ's arrival in Jericho. But, as in the preceding instance, this parable

^d In Ch. x. 1—42. St. Matthew relates the sending out of the twelve Apostles, with the instructions, which Christ gave them on that occasion. And in Ch. xi. 1, &c. he proceeds, *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς διατάσσων τοῖς δώδεκα μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, μετέβη ἐκεῖθεν τε διδάσκειν καὶ κηρύττειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν. Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀκροῖται ἐν τῇ δεσμωτηρίᾳ ταῖς ἐργαῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.*

^e St. Luke has inserted the message of St. John, in Ch. vii. 18—35.: but his account of Christ's sending out the twelve Apostles is in Ch. ix. 1—6.

^f In Ch. xix. 1. St. Luke says, *καὶ εἰσελθὼν διηρχε τὴν Ἱερουσόλην*: and in ver. 11. where the parable in question begins, *ἀκούοντων δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, προσέθεις εἶπε παραβολὴν, διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶναι Ἱερουσαλήμ.*

ble does not occupy in St. Luke's Gospel precisely the same place which it occupies in St. Matthew's. For according to St. Matthew, who has it in ch. xxv. 14—30. it was delivered after Christ arrived at Jerusalem.

The supposition therefore that the sections Γ², as well those, which are contained in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. as those which are contained elsewhere, were derived by St. Matthew and St. Luke from Γνωμολογια of the description above given, will account for every phenomenon, both in the contents, and in the position of these sections. That the long portion Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. contains much matter which St. Matthew has in no part of his Gospel, as the parable of the Samaritan, who fell among thieves, ch. x. 30—37. the parable of the prodigal son, ch. xv. 11—32. the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, ch. xviii. 1—8. the parable of the unjust judge and the importunate widow, ch. xviii. 1—8. with that of the Pharisee and the Publican, ver. 9—12. and several others, was occasioned partly by the circumstance that St. Luke's copy of the Γνωμολογια contained some things, which St. Matthew's copy did not, and partly by the circumstance that St. Luke himself in consequence of his diligent inquiries, was enabled to make additions to the collection.

Further, though St. Matthew, without St. Mark, has a great part of the matter contained in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. because St. Matthew as well as St. Luke had a copy of the Γνωμολογια[§], yet St. Mark, without St. Matthew, has not a single sentence of that portion, because St. Mark had no other document than N. There are

[§] In the Fourth Division, Sect. III. IV. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI. are contained in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. Compare also

Luke x.	3—12.	Matth. x.	10—16.
xi.	39—52.	xxiii.	4—7. 23—36.
xii.	1—12.	x.	19—33.
xiv.	16—24.	xxii.	1—14.
xv.	3—7.	xviii.	12—14.
xvii.	23—37.	xxiv.	17—41.

are however three sections common to St. Matthew and St. Mark, which are likewise in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. namely, Christ's confutation of the opinion, that he cast out devils by the aid of Beelzebub, Matth. xii. 24—30. Mark iii. 22—37. which is also in Luke xi. 16—23.; the parable of the grain of mustard seed, Matth. xiii. 31. 32. Mark iv. 30—32. which is also in Luke xiii. 18, 19.; and Christ's answer to the question, which is the greatest commandment, Matth. xxii. 34—40. Mark xii. 28—31. which is also in Luke x. 25—28. But these three sections occupy correspondent places in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark: and therefore both St. Matthew and St. Mark derived them from their copies of the document \aleph . Consequently, they were either original parts of the document \aleph , which St. Luke omitted in the correspondent places of his Gospel, because they were likewise contained in his document β : or, what is more probable, they were three of the additions A, which had been made only in the copies of \aleph used by St. Matthew and St. Mark^b. In either case we see

Further, there is a great number of single precepts or sayings of Christ, in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. thirty of which St. Matthew has in the sermon on the mount (see the preceding Note *c*), and others in other parts of his Gospel. Compare for instance,

Luke x. 23—24.	Matth. xiii. 16. 17.
xii. 51—53.	x. 3.
54—56.	xvi. 2. 3.
xiii. 28—29.	viii. 11. 12.
xiv. 11.	xxiii. 12.
26. 27.	x. 37. 38.
xvii. 3. 4.	xviii. 15. 21. 22.

^b Thus in Matth. xviii. 6—9. Mark ix. 42—48. which is one of the sections peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Mark, *one* verse occurs, namely, Matth. xviii. 6. Mark ix. 42. which is also in Luke xvii. 2.: and in Matth. xxiv. 22—26. Mark xiii. 20—23. which is one of the additions α , another single verse occurs, namely, Matth. xxiv. 23. Mark xiii. 21. which is in Luke xvii. 23. Among the additions therefore, which were made to the document \aleph in the copies used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, some of them contained matter, which was likewise in the document β .

See the reason why St. Mark has some matter, which is found in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. though he did not use the document β . But in the first of these three sections St. Matthew has three verses, ch. xii. 27. 28. 30. which St. Mark has not: and as they are contained word for word[†] in Luke xi. 19. 20. 23. they were taken by St. Matthew from the document β , and added to what he found in his copy of the document α .

Lastly, in respect to the matter, which each Evangelist has peculiar to himself, whether we consider the facts and discourses, which are contained either in St. Matthew's Gospel only, or in St. Luke's Gospel only, or consider the circumstances, with which St. Mark has so frequently enriched the facts, which are contained without those circumstances in one or both of the other two Gospels, they are so obviously explicable from the manner, in which the Evangelists have been supposed to have used their copies of the Hebrew document or documents, that it is unnecessary to enter into a particular detail of them. For though the Evangelists made use of more ancient documents, they are not to be considered as transcribers or translators, but as *authors*: and each of them, as such, made material additions, either of facts, or of discourses, or of circumstances, which were unnoticed by the other two, because they wrote without any knowledge of each other's Gospels.

It appears then, that the phenomena of every description, observable in our three first Gospels, admit of an easy solution by the proposed hypothesis. And since no other hypothesis can solve them all, we may conclude that it is the true one.

[†] See Sect. VII. the Fourth Division,









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